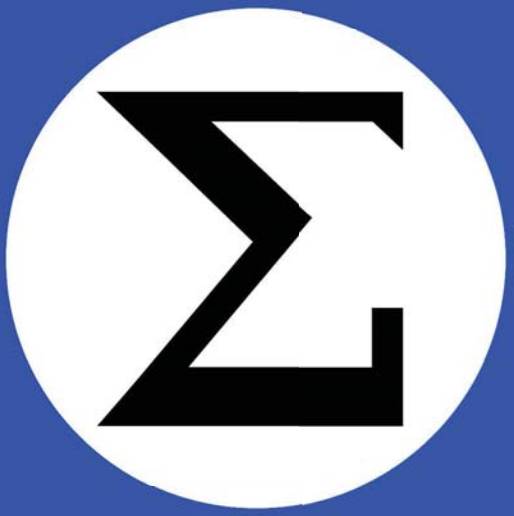
INTEGRALISM IN THE FACE OF THE NATION



PLINIO SALGADO

BERSERKER
BOOKS

INTEGRALISM IN THE FACE OF THE NATION

PLÍNIO SALGADO (1950)
LIVRARIA CLÁSSICA BRASILEIRA S.A
RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL
FOREWORD TO THE
2nd EDITION ENRICHED
WITH SIX FURTHER
DOCUMENTS

INTEGRALISM BEFORE THE NATION

(the following text retains the original spelling)

REASONS FOR THIS SECOND EDITION

The first edition of this book is completely out of print; and as demand remains high, this explains the publication of this new print run.

The work has been enhanced by the addition of further documents which the author did not have at his disposal when the book was first published. Upon returning from exile, the author obtained, from the archives of various like-minded colleagues, extremely interesting papers which shed further light on a significant period of our contemporary history.

In this book, in addition to the historical reconstruction of facts that have been maliciously distorted, one can appreciate the entire evolution of a political thought that is essentially Christian, democratic and nationalist. It will also be easy to distinguish Integralism as a doctrine and the Brazilian Integralist Action as an objective activity within the country's social life.

The integralist doctrine, as a conception of the universe and of man, has not changed. It upholds spiritualist principles, according to which a Creator God made the world and human beings, granting the latter the prerogatives of freedom and responsibility and offering them an eternal destiny.

It is as a result of these principles that the integralist doctrine proclaims and defends the legitimate rights and freedoms of natural groups, the independence and sovereignty of the nation, rights, freedoms and sovereignty correlated with binding duties. And it is also as a consequence of these principles that integralism adopts its own criteria in historical interpretation, in the critique of the economic, social and cultural development of human groups and, finally, with regard to issues of government and public administration, all subject to a holistic view, to a criterion of synthesis, which represents a move beyond the analytical and unilateral criteria of the nineteenth century.

Although it had not changed in any fundamental way, the Integralist doctrine nevertheless gained ground over time. This was because, during the period of the Integralist Action, the fundamental philosophical thinking of Integralism was subject to the natural constraints of a historical era in which two tendencies prevailed, both stemming from a one-sided approach to the analysis of political and social phenomena. Both these tendencies, however antagonistic they may seem, stemmed from the same source: the socialist idea; and so, some wanted the Brazilian Integralist Action to lean to the left and others to the right. Fruitful and brilliant were the writings of one or the other faction, each seeking to reconcile the practical application of its political and social theory with the guiding principle of Integralist spiritualism. History, stronger than intellectual debates, took it upon itself to identify the two currents, showing that both left-wing exaggeration and right-wing excesses were confused in the same expression of the absorbing state. And the pure thought of the Integralist doctrine has today risen to a height where no cloud can obscure it.

There has been a complete clarification of ideas. On the part of the founder of Ação
, there has been undeniable progress regarding a more perfect realisation of forms capable of containing the essence of his thought, which has never changed, but which, meanwhile, has improved in expression. It was the result of many long years of

experiences, in dealing with people, in suffering, in study, in meditation; in a word: in drawing closer to the eternal truth, which is found in Jesus Christ.

This book, however, is valuable as a historical record. It demonstrates a conscientious consistency in political action. It refutes slander. It restores the historical truth. No one – whether an opponent or a supporter of Integralism – can dispute the events that occurred between 1932 and 1945 and relating to the Brazilian Integralist Action, if they are unaware of the documentation contained in this volume.

And only bad faith could deduce from these documented truths the web of Confucian and perverse sophisms. Moreover, as stated in the preface to the first edition, this book is addressed to honest people.

Plínio Salgado
Rio de Janeiro, 15 August 1950

FOREWORD TO THE 1ST EDITION (1945)

This book took fourteen years to write. The man who prepared it, day by day, was a man of integrity. The pages not written by this man were written by others, concerning him or the work he created. But both what this man wrote and what was written about him, which we have gathered here, refer to a movement of Brazilians who made love of their country the meaning of their own lives.

This is not a volume constructed for a specific purpose, for which a subject is chosen, the material is outlined, a method adopted and a style selected.

This is not merely a defence; it is more than that: it is a testimony.

These are not mere assertions; they are evidence. Nor is this an exercise in apologetics; it is the writing of Brazilian history. When these pages were first written, no one imagined they would form a book. The chapters were lived through, one by one, and, after fourteen years, it became clear that they formed a perfectly balanced and harmonious whole, linked by a thread of rare and unsurpassed coherence.

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They constitute the entire history of Brazilian Integralism, the most slandered, the most misrepresented of all movements of opinion, because its enemies, possessing powerful means of propaganda, presented it precisely in the guise of those evils which it fought and continues to fight.

Spiritualist and Christian, they portrayed him as an adherent of materialist and anti-Christian theories. Nationalist, they accused him of links with foreign powers. Thirsty for social justice, they branded him an adversary of the workers. A friend of the humble, with multitudes of the poor and destitute in the countryside and cities among his ranks, they attributed to him a reactionary role as an instrument of a wealthy bourgeoisie. A defender of the nation's sovereignty and territorial integrity, they slandered him as a legion of those sold out to the expansionist interests of the nation's enemies.

A champion of equality amongst all races and a staunch advocate for the rights of the peoples of the South against the false theory of the superiority of the Aryan peoples, he was slandered as a subservient follower of the heralds of ethnic prejudice. A democrat in the truest sense, for he always sought a system in which the strong, the rich, the cunning and the violent could not exercise their tyranny over the deliberations of the people; they portrayed him as a prophet of all-encompassing statism. A bastion of respect for the human person from the very outset, as is evident from the Statutes of the society he founded and the manifesto with which he appeared, they classified him as an ideology that destroys freedoms. Imbued with Brazilian sentiment to the very core and insisting on bitterly criticising all alien institutions and customs, they attributed to him the shame of being a copycat of exotic regimes.

Such treatment was suffered only by the early Christians in Rome, when they were regarded as poisoners of wells, devourers of children and arsonists of the capital of the Empire. And this is a great honour for the Integralists, but we do not wish for the

of our homeland, through lack of information, to participate—not even through a silence , which would be criminal, in the cruel actions of our tormentors.

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This book is addressed to honest people, incapable of judging without full knowledge of the facts. We publish here thirty-six documents, dating from 7 October 1932 to 31 July 1945. These documents express the truth to true and upright minds, for to the minds of deceit and deviousness, neither evidence nor arguments hold any weight. Once a slander is refuted, these wicked souls devise others, or repeat the same. This has been the case since the beginning of the world, when he who was called by Christ – the father of lies – rebelled against the truth.

This volume is part of history. We offer it to the Brazilian people and dedicate it to future generations.

We are convinced that the public figures of our country, whatever their political affiliation, will read it and, having read it, will no longer allow a systematic campaign of slander to tarnish the honour of those who trust in the honour of their compatriots.

Brazilians! Do you wish to know what Integralism is, what it aims for, what it preaches, what it fights against, what it has done, and what it has endured—for you, for our homeland?

Take this book. Read it, page by page, and when you turn the last page, we are absolutely convinced that you will understand the mysterious reasons why we are slandered. That is enough to bring us joy, for in our conscience, before God, we need nothing more, since we hold the absolute certainty that we are worthy of you and of our beloved Brazil.

1932
(Document No. 1)

MANIFESTO OF OCTOBER 1932
(With this manifesto, Plínio Salgado founded Brazilian Integralism)

The Brazilian Nation—To the country's workers and trade unions
-To men of culture and thought
-To the youth in schools and the trenches
-To the armed forces!

1st
CONCEPTION OF THE UNIVERSE AND OF MAN

God guides the destinies of peoples. Man must practise on earth the virtues that elevate and perfect him. Man's worth lies in his work and in the sacrifices he makes for his family, his country and society. Man is valued for his study, intelligence, honesty, and progress in the sciences, the arts and technical skills, with the ultimate aim of the nation's well-being and the moral elevation of its people. Wealth is a fleeting good that does not ennoble anyone, provided that its holders do not fulfil the duties it strictly imposes upon them towards society and the nation. Everyone can and should live in harmony, respecting and esteeming one another, each distinguishing themselves through their aptitudes, for every man has his own vocation, and it is the sum of these vocations that brings about the greatness of the nation and social happiness.
Men and social classes, therefore, can and must live in harmony. It is possible for the humblest labourer to attain a high financial or intellectual position. It is incumbent upon each person to rise according to their vocation. All men are capable of social harmony, and all superiority stems from a single superiority that exists above men: their common and supernatural purpose. This is a profoundly Brazilian way of thinking, which stems from the Christian roots of our history and lies deep within our hearts.

2nd
HOW WE UNDERSTAND THE BRAZILIAN NATION

The Brazilian nation must be organised, united, indivisible, strong, powerful, rich, prosperous and happy. To achieve this, we need all Brazilians to stand united. But Brazil cannot achieve the intimate and perfect union of its people whilst there are states within states, political parties dividing people into classes, isolated individuals exerting personal influence on government decisions; in short, any and all processes that divide the

. That is why the nation needs to organise itself into professional classes. Every Brazilian shall enrol in their class. These classes shall each, in turn, elect their representatives to the municipal councils, the provincial assemblies and the national assemblies. Those elected to the municipal councils shall elect their president and the mayor. Those elected to the provincial assemblies shall elect the provincial governor. Those elected to the national assemblies shall elect the head of state, to whom ministers of their own choosing shall be accountable.

3rd
THE PRINCIPLE OF AUTHORITY

For a nation to progress in peace, to see its efforts bear fruit, and to gain prestige both at home and abroad, it must have a clear understanding of the principle of authority. We need an authority capable of taking initiatives for the benefit of each and every one; capable of preventing the rich, the powerful, foreigners and political groups from exerting influence over government decisions, thereby undermining the nation's fundamental interests. We need hierarchy and discipline; without these, there will only be disorder. A government that arises from the free will of all classes is representative of the nation: as such, it must be supported, respected, esteemed and held in high regard. The trust of the people must rest upon it. It must be provided with the means to uphold social justice and harmony amongst all classes, always with a view to the higher interests of the Brazilian community. Hierarchy, trust, order, peace, respect: this is what we need in Brazil.

4th
OUR NATIONALISM

Cosmopolitanism—that is, foreign influence—is a deadly scourge to our nationalism. It is our duty to combat it. This does not imply ill will towards friendly nations, or towards the children of other countries who also work here with the aim of advancing the Brazilian nation, and whose descendants are integrated into our own national life. We refer to the customs that are deeply rooted, particularly amongst our bourgeoisie, who are enthralled by this civilisation that is now in decline in Europe and the United States. Our homes are permeated with foreign influences; our conversations, our outlook on life, are no longer Brazilian. City-dwelling Brazilians are unfamiliar with our national thinkers, writers and poets. They are also ashamed of the caboclo and the black people of our land. They have acquired cosmopolitan habits. They are unaware of all the hardships and all the heroism, all the suffering and all the aspirations, the dream, the energy, the courage of the Brazilian people. They spend their lives showering them with insults and sarcasm, belittling the races from which we come. They spend their time glorifying everything from abroad, while despising all national initiatives. Having imposed an unsuitable political regime upon us, they prefer, in the face of the nation's disasters, to accuse the Brazilian of incompetence, rather than admit that it was the regime that was incompetent. Sceptical, disillusioned, jaded by pleasures, everything these powerful or great men say is

The petty bourgeoisie spreads a poison that corrodes the souls of our youth. They have fostered ethnic prejudices originating from countries that seek to dominate us. They have scorned all our traditions. And they seek to impose immoral customs. We are opposed to the pernicious influence of this pseudo-civilisation, which seeks to standardise us. And we are against the influence of communism, which represents Soviet capitalism, Russian imperialism, which seeks to reduce us to a colony. We rise up, in a great nationalist movement, to affirm the value of Brazil and of all that is useful and beautiful in the Brazilian character and customs; to unite all Brazilians in a single spirit: the Amazonian Tapuio, the Northeasterners, the sertanejos of the northern and central provinces, the caiçaras, the piraquaras, the vaqueiros, the calús, the capixabas, the calungas, the paroáras, the garimpeiros, the boiadeiros, and the tropeiros of Minas, Goiás, and Mato Grosso; settlers, smallholders, farmhands, and small artisans of São Paulo; herb growers of Paraná and Santa Catarina; the gauchos of the Pampas; the working class from all regions; the youth of the schools; the merchants, industrialists, and farmers; the teachers, artists, civil servants, doctors, lawyers, engineers, railway workers, soldiers, and sailors – all those who still hold in their hearts the love of their forebears and enthusiasm for Brazil. We must invoke our glorious traditions; we must assert ourselves as a united and strong people, whom nothing can divide. For us, nationalism is not merely the veneration of the flag and the national anthem; it is a profound awareness of our needs, of the character, tendencies and aspirations of our homeland, and of the worth of a people. This is a great campaign we are about to undertake.

5th
WE, THE PARTIES AND THE GOVERNMENT

We, the united people of Brazil, from all the provinces, propose to create a culture, a civilisation, and a way of life that are genuinely Brazilian. We wish to create our own public law, in accordance with our realities and aspirations, a government that guarantees the unity of all provinces, the harmony of all classes, the initiatives of all individuals, state oversight, and national development. For this reason, our ideal does not permit us to enter into alliances with regional parties, for we do not recognise these parties; we recognise the nation.
Until we see Brazil organised, free from the scourge of selfish partisanship, the Brazilian state expressing the will of the classes and guiding the nation through the intellect of its elites, we shall not rest in the propaganda we have set ourselves.
Our homeland cannot continue to be torn apart by state governors, by political parties, by warring factions, or by warlords. Our homeland must be united and strong, built on solidarity, so that it may escape the foreign domination that threatens it day by day, and save itself from international communism, which is spreading through its body like a cancer. For this reason, we do not collaborate with any party organisation that seeks to divide Brazilians. We echo the words of the legendary Osório, when he wrote from the fields of Paraguay, saying that he did not recognise parties because they divided the nation, and the nation must

be united in times of danger. We swear today to unity, to loyalty to one another, and to loyalty to the destiny of this generation. Either those in power will realise our political vision, or we, of the Brazilian Integralist Action, will spontaneously declare ourselves outlaws of the nation's false political life, until the day we become so numerous that we restore our rights of citizenship, and by the strength of that number we shall seize power in the republic. Therefore, we shall march through the future and nothing shall stop us, for marching with us are the conscience of the nation and the honour of Brazil.

6th
WHAT WE THINK OF CONSPIRACIES AND THE POLITICAL MANOEUVRING OF GROUPS AND FACTIONS

We declare ourselves enemies of all conspiracies, of all plots, conspiracies, backroom deals, secret collusions and seditions. Our campaign is cultural, moral, educational and social; it is conducted in the open, in the open field, with open hearts and heads held high. Those who fight for principles need not arrange anything in the dark. Those who march in the name of clear, well-defined ideas need no masks. Our homeland is wretchedly torn apart by conspiracies. Politicians and governments deal with immediate interests; that is why they conspire. We preach loyalty, frankness, open-mindedness, and the struggle in the realm of ideas.
The scheming of politicians is eroding the character of the Brazilian people. Civilians and military personnel revolve around individuals, due to a lack of clarity in their programmes. All their programmes are the same, and these men are divided by personal and group interests. That is why some plot against others. And, meanwhile, communism plots against us. We preach frankness and mental courage. We stand for a united Brazil, for the family, for property, for the legitimate organisation and representation of the classes; for religious morality; for the direct participation of intellectuals in the government of the republic; for the abolition of states within states; for a beneficial policy for Brazil in South America; for a nationalist campaign against the influence of imperialist countries, and, without respite, against Russian communism. We are the revolution in progress. But a revolution with ideas. Therefore, frank, loyal and courageous.

7th
THE SOCIAL SOCIAL HOW THE CONSIDERS THE ACTION BRAZILIAN INTEGRALIST MOVEMENT

Social issues must be resolved through the cooperation of all, in accordance with justice and the desire that each person harbours to progress and improve. The right to property is of such fundamental importance to us, considered in its natural and personal character. Capitalism today undermines this

The right, which is based, as is commonly believed, on unbridled individualism—a defining feature of the liberal-democratic economic system. We must adopt new regulatory processes for production and trade, so that the government can prevent imbalances that are harmful to social stability. Communism is not a solution, because it is based on the fundamental principles of capitalism, with the aggravating factor of reducing all employers to a single entity and enslaving the working class to a minority of cruel officials, all recruited from the bourgeoisie. Communism destroys the family in order to better enslave the worker to the State; it destroys the human personality in order to better enslave man to the collective; it destroys religion in order to better enslave human beings to their instincts; it destroys individual initiative, kills motivation, sacrifices an entire humanity for a falsely scientific dream that promises to be realised as soon as possible—that is, in 200 years' time, at the very least. What we wish to give to the working class, the peasant, the soldier, and the sailor is the opportunity to rise according to their vocation and their just desires. We intend to provide everyone with the means to attain, through their qualities, their work and their perseverance, an ever-better position, both within their class and outside it, and even in the government of the nation. We do not teach the worker the doctrine of cowardice, of disillusionment, of hatred, of resignation, as communism or anarchy do; nor the doctrine of submission, of inevitable ostracism, of acquiescence to the dictates of politicians, as liberal democracy does. We teach the doctrine of courage, of hope, of love for one's country, for society, for life, in all that is beautiful and attainable within it, of the just ambition to progress, to possess goods, to rise up, to uplift the family. We do not destroy the person, as communism does; nor do we oppress them, as liberal democracy does; we dignify them. We want the worker to have a guaranteed wage, adequate to his needs, sharing in the profits in proportion to his effort and ability; to hold his head high, taking part in the study of matters that concern him; to have an enlightened gaze, like a free man; to take part in government decisions, as a superior being.
Once factionalism and regionalism have been overcome; once the nation has been organised, with workers in government through their legitimate representatives; and with the integralist state exercising oversight over all productive activities, the doors will be open to all talents. The organised classes will guarantee their members, through collective agreements, and ensure the work or production needs of each individual, so that we no longer subject, as has been the case until now, those who are unemployed to the humiliations of job applications, so often met with contempt by those they seek, which causes justifiable revolts. To free the working class and the petty bourgeoisie from the criminal indifference of liberal governments. To save them from the slavery of communism. To transform the worker, hero of the new homeland, into a superior man, enlightened by the noble ideals of moral, intellectual and material elevation—these are our aims. It is the duty of the state to protect all.

8th
THE FAMILY AND THE NATION
We attach as much importance to the working and productive classes as we do to the family. It is the foundation of happiness on earth. Of the only possible joys. In which

What does human happiness consist of? In these tiny things, so gentle, so simple: a mother's caress, a father's word, a wife's tenderness, a child's affection, a brother's embrace, the devotion of relatives and friends. Solidarity in misfortune, in sickness, in death—which no state, in its bureaucratic or legal form, will ever be able to prevent, at any time. Sharing in joys, triumphs and struggles; comfort in every moment; daily encouragement; hope for the perpetuation of the bloodline and affectionate remembrance—this is what the family is: a perpetual source of spirituality and renewal, and at the same time a reflection of the human personality. Take the family away from man and the animal remains; make him a functioning cog in the state and we shall have the automaton, unhappy, degraded from his superior condition. What affection, what comfort, what consolation can the state offer this 'economic entity' in times of great affliction, or at the hour of death? Who will comfort him in times of sorrow, which will be as inevitable under the communist bureaucratic regime as under any other? At the supreme moment, science, public life, social life, collective life, and individualistic selfishness are not enough; the heart must enter into man's life and speak that language which is neither the compassion of a stranger, nor that of formalistic philanthropy, nor that of official support, nor that of an absurd socialisation of affections: but the profound language of long-nurtured and sustained affinities. Man cannot become a bee or a termite. He is the centre of a sentimental gravity. Man and his family preceded the state. The state must be strong to uphold man's integrity and that of his family. For it is the family that fosters the virtues which consolidate the State. The state itself is a great family, a collection of families. It is by virtue of this character that it has the authority to chart the nation's course. It is on the basis of family law that the state has the duty to achieve social justice
, representing the working classes. At this critical juncture for the
, to enshrine its defence in our programme. It is to defend the families of the working class, the shopkeeper, the industrialist, the farmer, the peasant, the shop assistant, the doctor, the pharmacist, the lawyer, the engineer, the magistrate, the scientist, the artist, the teacher, the civil servant, the soldier and the sailor, against disorganisation, prostitution and ruin, that we desire a strong state, based on the living forces of the nation.

9th
THE MUNICIPALITY: CENTRE OF FAMILIES, CELL OF THE NATION

The municipality is a gathering of families. Men and women, as professionals, as agents of production and progress, must join their respective classes, so that they may be supported by them in times of illness and unemployment. In this way, those who work and produce are safeguarded by their own class; they do not depend on favours from political bosses, local strongmen, local committees, or election agents. It is the only way to ensure a free and informed vote. The classes elect their representatives to the municipal councils, as we have said, and these elect their president and mayor.

Municipalities must be autonomous in all matters concerning their specific interests, because the municipality is a gathering of residents who aspire to local well-being and progress. Administrative integrity can be monitored by the classes themselves, for what led to the demoralisation of municipal councils in the democratic system was political manoeuvring—the support that local political leaders received from state political leaders. With the parties abolished, the municipal government will rest on the will of the classes. Within these, no outside influence can be exerted, because everyone feels supported by the very class to which they belong. There will be no way whatsoever to carry out political persecution, for the local government will be free from the dictates of men who, living outside the municipality, meddle in its affairs, as has been common practice. The municipality, therefore, as the home of families and social classes, will be administered with honesty, will be autonomous, and will be directly linked to national objectives.

10th
THE INTEGRALIST STATE

We aim to establish an integralist state, free from any and all sources of division: political parties; regionalist factions vying for hegemony; class struggle; local factions; caudillismo; a disorganised economy; antagonisms between the military and civilians; antagonisms between state militias and the army; between the government and the people; between the government and intellectuals; and between the latter and the masses. We intend to ensure the functioning of the classical powers (executive, legislative and judicial), in accordance with the imperatives of the organised nation, based on its productive classes, the municipality and the family. We intend to establish the supreme authority of the nation. We intend to mobilise all technical expertise, all scientists, all artists, all professionals—each acting within their own sphere—to realise the greatness of the Brazilian nation. We intend to take as the foundation of the great nation the very people of our land, in their historical, geographical and economic reality, in their nature, their character and their aspirations, studying them deeply, in accordance with science and morality. From this biological and psychological element, we shall deduce relationships with sound principles of law, pedagogy, economic policy and legal foundations. As the crowning glory of this edifice, we shall realise the supreme idea, the synthesis of our civilisation: in philosophy, in literature, in the arts that will express the essence of our national and human spirit. We intend to create, with all racial elements, in accordance with mesological and economic imperatives, the Brazilian nation, saving it from the errors of capitalist civilisation and the errors of communist barbarism. To create, in a single expression and economic and financial state, the representative state and the cultural state. We intend to raise the Brazilian people, in an unprecedented gathering, with a strength never before attained, with a hope never before imagined. We intend to lay the foundations of an educational system to guarantee the nation's survival in the future. We intend to instil energy into the young, to pull them out of the disbelief, apathy, scepticism and sadness in which they live; to teach them the lesson of courage, instilling in them the certainty of the worth that each one possesses within themselves, as a child of Brazil and of America. To mobilise the masses in a great

affirmation of rejuvenation. To shake the very fibres of the homeland. To lift it from its depression, its despondency, its bitterness, so that it may move forward, giving rise to a new civilisation, which, through our strength, our audacity, our faith, we shall launch from Brazil, set our continent ablaze, and indeed influence the world. To this end, we shall fight the cynics, the 'jaded', the disillusioned, the unbelievers, for at this hour we swear not to rest for a moment, until we die or triumph, for with us a homeland shall die or triumph.
Such is the course of our march!

1933
(Document number 2) Integralist

Guidelines

Based on the fundamental principles of the October 1932 manifesto, the National Department of Doctrine of the Brazilian Integralist Action issued, by order of the National Leader of Integralism, the following guidelines, widely disseminated throughout all the provinces of the country:

I
Integralism aims to build society according to the hierarchy of its spiritual values, in accordance with the laws governing its movements and subject to the primordial, absolute reality, which is God.

II
This hierarchy, upon which the principle and exercise of authority are founded, gives precedence to the spiritual over the moral, the moral over the social, the social over the national, and the national over the individual.

III
Integralism regards authority as a unifying force that ensures the convergence and balance of individual wills and harnesses the nation's energies for the collective good.

IV
Integralism regards society as a moral and necessary union of human beings living harmoniously in accordance with their higher destinies

V
Integralism understands the nation as a great society of families, living within a given territory, shaped by the same historical traditions and sharing the same aspirations.

VI
Integralism regards the State as an essentially legal-political institution, holding the principle of sovereignty to achieve the integral unity of the nation, coordinating and guiding, under a single guiding principle, all the material groups that constitute it and all the vital forces that drive it.

VII
Therefore, in the integralist conception, the state assumes the supreme political and administrative authority of the nation, controlling and guiding all its vital dynamism, whilst, however, subordinating itself in all things to the imperatives of the natural hierarchy of things, of social harmony and of the common good of Brazilians.

VIII
Integralism recognises man as a being endowed with an intangible personality, possessing natural rights in the threefold sphere of his legitimate material, intellectual and spiritual aspirations.

IX
It is incumbent upon the State to provide the conditions necessary for the full satisfaction of these legitimate aspirations of the human person, respecting and fostering their widest possible expansion, always guided by the imperatives of social harmony and the higher destinies of man.

X
Integralism, thus proclaiming the intangible rights of the human person, and for that very reason, insists on the imperative obligation incumbent upon every individual to strictly fulfil all the duties arising from their life in society; it therefore declares that every individual is subordinate, within the sphere of their activities, to the higher interests of the community, which, in turn, condition and foster the legitimate expansion of their personality and the fulfilment of their noblest aspirations.

XI
For Integralism, the family is the first and most important of social institutions, for by its very nature, which is both biological and moral, it is the cradle of social life and the repository of the nation's most intimate traditions.

XII
It is therefore the duty of the state to uphold the indissoluble bond that constitutes the family, to protect and promote its integrity, to respect its inalienable rights, and to underpin its autonomy and its bonds of affection with a solid economic foundation, through fair and enlightened family legislation, rather than abandoning it, as has been the case hitherto, in the absence of any stability or security, and with no possibility of fulfilling its social mission of providing a comprehensive education for the child and guiding them through life.
Integralism therefore demands, for the family—given its noble and most delicate social function—the rights conferred upon it by the institution of the 'family property' and the family allowance in the economic sphere, and the 'family' vote in the political sphere, as a just recognition of its high social and national merit.

XIV

Integralism regards the intensive and comprehensive education of the people as a fundamental duty of the state, in the interests of its own stability and material and moral progress. For this reason, integralism advocates a comprehensive educational programme: unified and free education at primary and secondary levels, with compulsory enrolment and attendance; the intensification of technical education; the reduction of the cost of higher education; the raising of the economic, social and moral standards of the Brazilian teaching profession; the establishment of universities inspired by the principles of Christian philosophy; the creation of courses for the general public and in the higher arts; the promotion of scientific research, the fine arts and literature, in their various forms, whilst always respecting the limits imposed by moral, social and national imperatives; freedom and encouragement for private initiative in all branches of education, subjecting it, however, to indispensable state supervision. Integralism, whilst maintaining just scientific and didactic freedom, formally condemns the uncontrolled freedom of the academic chair.

XV

In implementing this vast and intensive educational programme, the state must never overstep the legitimate bounds of its authority, thereby undermining or even curtailing the fundamental rights of the family and religion regarding the education of the younger generation; rather, it shall seek to harness the participation of these great moral forces of the nation, in a spirit of the most sincere understanding and the broadest cooperation, so that this joint action may result in a truly comprehensive education of the younger generations, in keeping with the traditions and sentiments of the Brazilian people. In all other matters relating to the vital and supreme interests of the nation, integralism will always promote the same attitude on the part of the state with regard to the fundamental rights and interests of the family and religion.

XVI

Direct state supervision of the cinema, the theatre, the press, the radio, and all media of thought that are today undermining freedom, forcing the people to submit to the whims of international capitalists, materialistic bourgeoisie, anarchic spirits, and agents of Moscow. To support national artists, so that they may, in independence, have the freedom to be Brazilian; to assist all artistic endeavours, to protect national cinema, to reform the press, elevating it and freeing it from the private interests that oppress it – all this will be a magnificent achievement of Integralism.

XVII

Integralism, seeking to promote the moral and spiritual betterment of the nation, declares itself, through spiritualism, against all materialist currents of thought and action, which, under the guise of liberalism, have been carrying out their nefarious work of disintegrating all the living forces of the homeland.

XVIII
Within this framework, Integralism proposes to respect freedom of conscience and guarantee freedom of worship, provided that these do not constitute a threat to peace and social harmony.

XIX
Integralism will uphold all religious rights enshrined in the Federal Constitution of 16 July 1934 and, subsequently, ensure that Christian principles are respected in every aspect of national legislation.

XX
The guiding principle of religious cooperation is that of the concordat system, without any loss of autonomy on the part of the parties and always with a view to national greatness within the Christian ideal of society.

XXI
Integralism upholds the principle of trade union organisation within a political system guided by Christian principles, in that trade unions must fully provide their respective classes with the means necessary to satisfy their legitimate material, cultural, moral and spiritual interests.

XXII
Once the integral state is organised, it cannot allow the formation of any forces that might threaten the nation's independence or its moral, economic or territorial integrity.

XXIII
Integralism advocates government control of the national economy, preventing usury from depleting the forces of production; preventing labour from being reduced to a mere commodity subject to the law of supply and demand; preventing the middleman from stifling the producer and crushing the consumer; preventing stateless capitalism from enslaving them, ever more so, to international financial groups, unlike the liberal democratic state, which transfers the nation's economic sovereignty to private groups, thereby permitting the rampant proliferation of 'trusts', 'cartels' and 'monopolies', and all manner of exploitation through usurious interest rates, stock market speculation, and the manoeuvres by which capitalism undermines the principle of property. This attitude of the integral state must not be confused with the absurdity of racist or collectivist socialism, in which the government becomes the sole owner, the sole capitalist, the sole employer.

XXIV
Integralism defends the right to property up to the limit imposed by the common good, establishing, alongside the right, also the duty of the owner. Integralism recognises private initiative as the most fruitful factor in economic production; but, to safeguard against particularistic ambitions, and for the well-being and freedom of the Brazilian people,

it will nationalise those services which, by their very nature, cannot be operated for profit, but which are intended for the development of the national economy and the public interest, such as: railways, shipping, mines, energy sources and the banking system.

XXV

Integralism ensures the full effectiveness of the vote and restores its dignity, extending it to the corporations, where the individual is guaranteed both morally and materially. In the integral state, all Brazilians will collaborate, within the group to which they belong, in the formation of public power.

Integralism does not undermine democracy, since true democracy is that which does not succumb to the lies of so-called 'democratism', which give rise to overbearing oligarchies. All exclusivist factions harbour the seeds of a disguised dictatorship. False democratism deceives the masses, rendering the vote a contemptible thing. True national representation is that which is effected through the country's professions and cultural associations, no longer as a quantitative expression, but as a qualitative index of the nation. Integralism is corporate organisation that is not merely economic, in the manner of fascism, but economic-political, thus expressing organic democracy.

XXVI

The municipality is a gathering of families. The fact that the municipality has its origins in the family renders it sacred and inviolable in all matters concerning its specific interests. These interests, however, like those of individuals, must not be allowed to run amok to the point of harming themselves. Thus, integralism, whilst maintaining the municipality's autonomy, subordinates it to the interests of the region or the nation in all matters relating to services of a general and technical nature.

XXVII

Integralism seeks political centralisation and administrative decentralisation, so that a plurality of means achieves a unity of kindred spirits. The provinces must have administrative autonomy, with all the forces of the Brazilian regions coming together in the national whole without prejudice to their own values. The formula of integralism is: 'Differentiation within Unity'.

1934
(Document number 3)

STATUTES OF THE BRAZILIAN INTEGRALIST ACTION

(Final document, drafted and approved by the 1st Brazilian Integralist Congress held in the city of Vitória, capital of the state of Espírito Santo, on 3 March
1934, which replaced the provisional statutes drawn up by the founding group of Integralism as a civil society. It was at the Vitória Congress that the 'Brazilian Integralist Action'
Brazilian Integralist Action' acquired a truly political character, national scope through the attendance of delegates from all states, and greater doctrinal significance
through the debate on the theses proposed there. Subsequently, as can be seen in the following document
, the 2nd Congress in Petrópolis clarified the democratic philosophy of Integralism. In the articles below, from the statutes of the Vitória Congress, are set out the aims of the 'Brazilian Integralist Action'.

" The first Brazilian Integralist Congress, convened in Vitória, capital of Espírito Santo, approved and endorsed the following statutes of the A.I.B., reforming those that had been in force on an interim basis:

Title I, Sole

Chapter

Name – Headquarters – Aims

Art. 1) – The Brazilian Integralist Action is a national association governed by private law, with its civil headquarters in the city of São Paulo and its political headquarters where the national leader of its movement is to be found, and with sectors of activity throughout the territory of Brazil, comprising the same sectors, nuclei and sub-nuclei affiliated to it, the former located in the state capitals, and the latter in the municipalities and districts of the various national constituencies.
Article 2) – The purpose of the Brazilian Integralist Action is:
a) – To serve as a centre for sociological and political studies and culture;
b) – To carry out a major campaign to raise the moral and civic standards of the Brazilian people; c) – To establish the Integral State in Brazil.

Sole paragraph – The Integral State is understood to be a state which achieves:

1) In the political sphere, a political-social regime based on the integralist or national-corporate doctrine;

2) – In the economic sphere, a directed economy in which the social takes precedence over the individual;

3) In the moral sphere, the spiritual cooperation of all forces that defend the ideas of God, country and family;
4) – In the intellectual sphere, the participation of all cultural and artistic forces in the life of the State."

1935
(Documents Nos. 4, 5, 6 and 7)

STATUTES OF THE BRAZILIAN INTEGRALIST ACTION
(Approved at the 2nd Integralist Congress held in Petrópolis on 7 March 1935 and approved and registered by the Superior Electoral Court in a ruling of 8 September 1937—(articles setting out the aims of the A.I.B.)

Article 1) – The Brazilian Integralist Movement is a civil association, with its headquarters in the city of São Paulo, and is a political party, with its headquarters at the location of its supreme leader, and branches of activity throughout the territory of Brazil; these branches consist of local groups and sub-groups affiliated to it, the former being located in the state capitals, and the latter in the municipalities and districts of the various federal constituencies.
Art. 2) – The Brazilian Integralist Action has the following objectives:
a) – to function as a political party, in accordance with the registration already made with the Superior Electoral Court.
b) – to function as a centre for studies and moral, physical and civic education.
Art. 3) – As a political party, the Brazilian Integralist Action aims at reforming the state through the formation of a new philosophical and legal culture, so that the Brazilian people, freely, within the norms of the July 1934 Constitution and the laws in force, may definitively ensure, by avoiding conflicts between provinces, between classes
, between races, between groups of any kind and, above all, by preventing armed rebellions:
a) the worship of God, the homeland and the
family; b) national unity;
c) the principle of order and authority; d)
Brazil's prestige abroad;
e) social justice, guaranteeing workers remuneration commensurate with all their needs and with the contribution each must make to the national economy;
f) peace amongst Brazilian families and amongst the nation's active forces, through the organic and Christian system of guilds;
g) – an economy that guarantees the inviolability of property within the limits imposed by the common good; private enterprise geared towards maximising the efficiency of national production; the nation's financial sovereignty; the circulation of wealth and the utilisation of our natural resources for the benefit of the Brazilian people; the prosperity and greatness of the nation;
h) – the freedom of the individual within the framework of social order and
harmony; i) – the greatness and prestige of the armed forces;
j) – the unity of all Brazilians

(The remaining articles concern internal organisation, membership categories, membership fees and admission fees, members' rights and duties, board positions, the election system, etc.)

RULING OF THE SUPERIOR ELECTORAL COURT

(Session of 8 September 1937. We have
included this among the documents from 1935,
as it refers to the statutes of 7 March of that
year.
See previous document).

At a session on 8 September 1937, the Superior Electoral Court, in accordance with the opinion of the Attorney General, Dr José Maria Mac Dower da Costa, recognised that the Brazilian Integralist movement was 'in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of July 1934 and the laws in force', and UNANIMOUSLY approved the registration of the amendments made to its statutes. The reporting judge was Minister Cândido de Oliveira.

Here are the

CONCLUSIONS OF THE JUDGMENT

As set out above, the applicant, having acquired legal personality under the terms of the law (Civil Code, Article 18), is already registered with this court as a political party.

" The amendments to the statutes, approved at the second Brazilian Integralist Congress, held in Petrópolis, were duly registered in accordance with the provisions of the Civil Code, Article 18, sole paragraph; the requirements of the previous decision of this court, regarding the manner of amending the statutes, and the standing of the applicant's counsel were duly met (pp. 76–79).

"The amendments to the statutes, in the part relating to the political party, which are the only ones to be considered at this stage of the proceedings, do not contravene the laws in force, as demonstrated by the Attorney General.

"That being said, the judges of the Superior Electoral Court hereby grant the application set out on page 40, so that the registration of the applicant's statutory amendments may be completed and published.

THE GREEN SHIRT
OFFICIAL LETTER FROM THE
MINISTRY OF WAR APPROVING THE
A.I.B. UNIFORM

Ministry of War – Republic's Armed Forces – Directorate of War Independence – 5th Section – Federal Capital – 6 July 1934 – No. 202 from the Head of Section 5 – To the Head of the Brazilian Integralist Action.
Subject – Notification of approval of uniform – "I hereby inform you that the Minister of War, by order of 22 June of this year, has approved the uniform chosen by your organisation, in accordance with the documents submitted by you.
a) Tel. Col. ATANÁSIO LOUREIRO DA SILVA
Lieutenant Colonel, Chief

END-OF-YEAR CHRISTMAS LETTER

(Article by the national leader of Integralism, Plínio Salgado, published in the newspaper 'A Ofensiva' on 25 December 1935)

Telegram from His Excellency the Most Reverend Mr Octaviano Pereira de Albuquerque, Archbishop-Bishop of Campos, regarding this article:

"I thank you very much from the bottom of my heart for the good wishes you sent me I take this opportunity to, in turn, extend my warmest greetings to you for the SUBLIME and INCOMPARABLE article with which Your Excellency defined the integralist ideal during the last Holy Christmas. May God bless all your patriotic ideals. – (a) Octaviano, Archbishop-Bishop of Campos.

Last year, this page featured a Christmas prayer, a prayer from the Child Nation to the Child God. This year, amidst the storms of the passing hour, I write—not a prayer, but a letter—in which it is not the agitator who speaks, but the man of thought, who foresees the victory of a generation whose rise has been achieved at the cost of the greatest sacrifices.
Today, more than ever, I feel the responsibility of the work begun with the best of intentions, a work that is always in danger of being distorted from its true meaning by those who, in the revolutionary fervour, stray from the realistic and steadfast line of Integralism's political conception.
And there is no better day for me to write a letter, not so much to the Integralist masses, but to the Integralist elites, than this day. I write on the afternoon of 25 December, still under the spell of the Christmas festivities. This is my Christmas epistle. It seeks inspiration from the eternal lesson that lives and beats within the millennia-old history of this divine life, blossoming, like a strange flower, in the stable of Bethlehem, in the mysterious light of the star that guided the shepherds of Judea and the distant Chaldean princes.

A return to the consciousness and concept of authority

In the early hours of yesterday, meditating on 'this' that I have been doing, I felt apprehensive. I recalled Leonardo da Vinci before the enigmatic smile of the Mona Lisa. The Mona Lisa was beautiful, she was incomprehensible and indefinable; yet she was not human.
I also examined my own creation, at the most dramatic hour of our homeland. And I grew uneasy . I do not fear enemies, nor adversity, but I fear the integralists themselves. They, in their idealistic exaltation, may lose that which we seek most, that which is the foundation of our politics: self-awareness. And, losing self-awareness, they will lose the concept of authority, as I understand it, and the conception of the leader, as is necessary for a Christian nation.
On this Christmas Day, I turn to Christ, whose teachings shine through the pages of his life, asking him, with all my heart, not to let us stray from the true concept of personality, from the human understanding of existence, and from the balance within the fabric of the state, society, the family and humanity.

Man Misrepresented
The entire error of the centuries that preceded us lay in a distortion of the human personality. Some, like Rousseau, sought to make it so free that they made it a slave to instincts. Others sought to make it so material and mechanical that they made it, like Marx, a slave to the collective and, subsequently, a slave to certain leaders of the collective mass. Still others made it disenchanted with the beautiful and lovely things of life, causing it to view the world through the pessimism of Schopenhauer, the bilious bitterness of Byron and Leopardi, or the sad irony of Anatole. Still others, as a supreme rebellion against a mediocre life, devised the utmost exaltation of the personality; such is the case with Nietzsche's delusional fantasies concerning his superman.
These errors in the conception of Man were inevitably reflected in the conception of the family , society, and the State. And they produced their malevolent effects, dragging the world into the disastrous consequences of the tormented days we are living through.

Contemporary Dangers
That very thing which appears, in the eyes of a stunned humanity, as a reaction to contemporary moral cataclysms, often harbours, at its core, the essence of one of the many expressions of the error that has undermined the Christian foundations of society.
This is the case with the dangerous trend of Hitlerism, a phenomenon that should deeply shake the spiritual conscience of peoples. The war on religions, in a latent state, as Tristão de Ataíde observes, and about to become overt, as that same writer emphasises, is a natural consequence of the mysticism that arose in Germany without a religious basis, that is, by mixing two different human manifestations within the sphere of the state. It is the very conception of the totalitarian state, in its utmost exaggeration, in the style of Caesar: military leader, civil leader and Pontiff. It is the error of Louis XIV that carries over into the Napoleonic apotheosis, finds its echo in Nietzschean philosophy, draws its energy from Bismarck, is founded on the spirit of the masses, in the crucible of the Great War, and, finally, translates into racist mysticism, into the paganism that, in the very heart of the 20th century, rises from the ashes of the past to bring to life the drama of Julian the Apostate. It is no longer the return of Olympian Jupiter and the

Hellenic gods; it is, however, the return of Odin and the gods whom, through their clamouring music, Wagner sees upon the mountain peak.
Will such madness reach Germany? We do not know. We are merely witnessing the consequences of a mysticism transferred from the religious sphere—where it should always remain and from which it should never depart—to the realm of political activity; that is, the conception of the leader as a man distinct from others, a demigod, culminating in the very incarnation of Odin, and the conception of his followers as human beings who are overly religious, yet who, lacking a Christian foundation, have crossed the hypocritical line of old Puritanism, reaching the other extreme, where the explosion of all repressed feelings ultimately manifests itself as a denial of virtue.
In this stormy hour for the world and at this time of such anguish for Brazil, I feel my responsibility and seek to speak less as an agitator—which I had to be to awaken our homeland—than as a builder, a statesman, who wishes to be an ambassador for a nation.

Christ alone is the Master

I turn to the one 'source of living water', to the 'light of the world', to the one who, living as God the life that only God can live, taught men to live the life of men and gave them the profound sense of harmony from which we men of the twentieth century have strayed because we have long since lost the exact, linear, perfect concept of the human personality.
Having lost, we men of the twentieth century, the human meaning of existence, we have consequently lost the meaning of our purpose. We have mixed everything up, we have distorted everything, we have created such confusion regarding values, duties, the tasks proper to each individual, and models of life, that every day we risk countering the errors we face with remedies that are themselves new errors.
In this state of mind in which the world finds itself, it is in the teaching of Christ that we may find the true path for the state, society, the family and Man, according to their own purposes, their own limits, their own essence.

The Limits of Caesar's Empire

Integralism does not seek to build a Totalitarian State, for it seeks to build the Integral State, the harmonious State, the State immutable in its essence yet changeable in the revolutionary march that imposes upon it the duties of the spirit and grants it the free will of the spirit, which is reflected therein.
We distinguish the religious sphere from the political sphere. We conceive of authority, not according to the mystical, exaggerated, unhealthy fervour of the followers surrounding the leader, but as a principle for maintaining the organic structures of society. It is in the divine master that we find the admirable lesson: render unto Caesar what is Caesar's, and unto God what is God's; yes, for Caesar is a man, even though the Romans may believe in his divinity. From this we derive the concept of the state, the limits of its sphere of action, and the nature of its mission.

For the mission of the State is not that of Christ, whose kingdom does not belong to this world, since the kingdom of the State, like Caesar's empire, is precisely and solely of this world.
Since Caesar's kingdom, or the State, is of this world, this does not mean that Caesar, or the State, is unconcerned with the kingdom of Christ; for the kingdom of Christ is also for men, and Caesar has spiritual duties by virtue of being a man, just as he has rights and duties in his capacity as the head of men.
Caesar's rights, within the bounds of his empire, are exclusive, and so exclusive that Christ himself recognises them and does not interfere with them. It is clear that Caesar must not overstep the boundaries of his empire.
What are these boundaries? Those of respect for the human person and all that arises from it, for such things already belong to the kingdom of Christ. And therefore, Caesar may never penetrate the thresholds of the conscience of those he governs, just as they must never transgress the mysteries of Caesar's conscience, for in the depths of the conscience, man belongs exclusively to God. Therefore, Caesar can never shape the conscience of those he governs according to his whims, just as those he governs cannot shape Caesar's conscience, for he is human, a simple citizen of the kingdom of God, and only he can know the best way to fulfil his duties as a citizen.
The people cannot be Caesar's creation, nor Caesar the people's creation. To do so would be to usurp rights that belong solely to God. And every time Caesar seeks to create the people, he creates a monster; and every time the people seek to create a Caesar, they engender an Antichrist.

Realism and a Sense of Proportion

Hence the realistic nature of Integralism. It must take the people as they truly are in historical terms and must regard natural groups—the family, the professional association, the municipality, the nation—in accordance with their own essential nature and in accordance with eternal principles.
The Christian concept of life is the concept of perfect balance. One must understand man, the clay of which he is made, his higher purpose, his mission on earth, his feelings, and the inviolability of conscience, in order to organise the state free from the distortions that might be brought about by state mysticism, the worship of Caesar, the absolutism of genius, and the excesses of revolutionary exaltation.

The Light of the Road

I say these things mindful of my responsibilities as leader of several hundred thousand Brazilians, and inspired by the master of masters, from whom we must not stray. In the revolutionary fervour with which I roused the youth of the nation, drawing crowds of people in my wake; witnessing, day by day, the fulfilment of the dream I had previously foreseen in my books, that is to say, hearing the rumble of the footsteps of a nation setting out to march and the glorious song of a generation that is the most beautiful Brazil has ever produced—I often perceived the danger we risked bringing upon the future of my people and upon myself. I myself might lose the sense of my own identity, for I would judge myself at every turn, in the face of

formidable national surge of Integralism, as something far greater than I truly am.
But, fortunately, the necessary light has not forsaken me: I feel the humanity of Caesar and of the state. Feeling it, I see our problems in a calm light. In that light I discern the image of him who teaches us the lessons of harmony and the secret of political structures that aim at the possible happiness of mankind

These Words are Bequeathed to the Future

These things I have written on Christmas Day of this year, 1935, will not be understood by vulgar politicians, by the frivolous, by the indifferent; they will, however, be understood by all those who bear responsibility within the Integralist movement, and also by those who, in our homeland, are fighting against us, in the secret service of Brazil's enslavers, and who, because of them, will unleash their hatred and slander upon us.
They will also be understood by all those who sincerely worshipped Christ on Christmas Day, and by the young people who join me in this glorious march of renewal, in this exhilarating struggle, for it is fraught with danger; they will clearly discern the deepest thought contained within these lines, which I hope may one day serve those who will bear the weight of future governments of the Brazilian nation, as a constant warning, a sure compass, which will defend them and avert future national catastrophes.

This is my Christmas letter. Only God knows how I conceived it before writing it. One day, these lines may serve as a guide for the selection of future leaders, who will continue the political work I have begun. I am not the founder of any religion, but the architect of a state. And may my successors carry on this work, in this same spirit, with this same aspiration for balance, and this same sense of humanity. We must build a state for men, and in accordance with the needs, purposes, nature, rights, duties and aspirations of Man. And may the state and the nation—that is, Caesar and the people—be mirrors of one another, in which they may contemplate their mutual virtues and their dreams of greatness and dignity.

1936
(Documents Nos. 8, 9, 10 and 11)

PRELIMINARIES OF THE 'MANIFESTO-PROGRAMME OF BRAZILIAN INTEGRALIST ACTION'

Read by the national leader of Integralism at the
conclave of the party's leading figures,
on 23 January 1936, to serve as the basis for the development
the preparatory election campaign for the presidential elections

"I – Integralism is a movement that aims to bring happiness to the Brazilian people, within the framework of social justice and truly democratic principles, guaranteeing the inviolability of natural groups and definitively ensuring the greatness of the nation, which must be raised to its full splendour.

Whereas the aspirations for the material well-being of every individual are just and unshakeable ; that man, even to fulfil his spiritual duties, requires an individual and family economic foundation, and that it is lawful for him, in the very fulfilment of these duties and in accordance with his vocation, temperament and legitimate desires, to enjoy the benefits arising from growing technical progress, increased production and the prosperity of the nation; and noting that only an indestructible spiritual foundation gives the state a sense of duty and free will, and that only guided by this sense of duty does the state acquire the revolutionary capacity to intervene in the social rhythm and economic activities whenever necessary, to restore balance, preventing the existence of 'exploiters' and 'exploited' – We, the Integralists, reaffirm what has already been established in a previous official publication, namely, 'the primacy of the spiritual over the moral, of the moral over the social, of the social over the national, and of the national over the individual'.

For these reasons:

II – Integralism proposes to respect freedom of conscience and guarantee freedom of worship, provided that these do not constitute a threat to public morals. In matters of religious cooperation, it advocates the concordat system, without loss of autonomy for the parties and always aiming at national greatness within the Christian ideal of Brazilian society.

III – Integralism not only recognises man as a being endowed with an intangible personality , but also seeks to create the conditions essential for the effective realisation of freedom; and it combats liberalism precisely because the latter promises freedoms, yet creates the tyrannies of political and economic factions, which usurp all the practical means indispensable to the actual exercise of freedom. Integralism, in short, is the theory of discipline and the practice of freedom, whereas liberalism is the theory of freedom and the practice of slavery.

IV - Integralism is not anti-democratic. On the contrary, when it condemns political parties, it is because it aims to replace them with corporations, bodies which in our day are the only ones capable of capturing and expressing the will of the people. Integralism, therefore, is not a doctrine

or an apology for dictatorship. The integral state will be a strong state, not to suppress legitimate and natural freedoms, but to safeguard them against the abuse of the powerful, preserving national sovereignty, the well-being and dignity of every Brazilian.

Based on these principles and considering the Brazilian reality, after three consecutive years not only of forging a new consciousness but also of research into national phenomena across all fields of social activity in our homeland, we present to the nation the general outlines of a government programme, for which we shall fight, from this moment onwards, as a national political party (indeed, the only one in the country), standing in all municipal, state and federal elections, and preparing to put forward an integralist candidate in the forthcoming presidential elections.

The broad outlines of this programme, which we hereby present to the democratic vote of the Brazilian people, will in future include a detailed examination of the various specific aspects of each issue, with the technical precision derived from our ongoing studies.

WHAT TRISTÃO DE ATAÍDE (ALCEU DE AMOROSO LIMA), HEAD OF THE BRAZILIAN CATHOLIC LAITY, THINKS ABOUT INTEGRALISM
(Excerpts taken from his book "POLITICAL GUIDELINES")

'The condemnation (of Integralism) generally stems from people who, consciously or unconsciously, continue to confuse liberalism with freedom, democracy with social justice, and pacifism with love and peace. And since the Church uncompromisingly defends freedom, social justice and the love of peace, they link it to the liberal political regime, which defends liberalism, democracy and pacifism. A link is thus established between Catholicism and the liberal democratic regime, both in the political and economic spheres."
(From the volume – Political Indications – p.189)

"Most of those among us who condemn Integralism (mistaking it entirely for fascism and Hitlerism) do so because they wrongly associate Catholicism with the political and economic dominance of the bourgeoisie and with the multi-party system. It is an anachronistic and untenable attitude, which diminishes the Church by linking it to a particular social era that distorts the supernatural meaning of the Christian faith and may drag Catholicism into the worst of shipwrecks, by associating it with social regimes in a state of rapid decay.
(ibid. – p. 189)

"In the social sphere, Integralism has, for the most part, the same adversaries as the Church . And the struggle against common enemies is a bond that creates indestructible ties."
(Ibid., p. 193)

"And we also have common friends. This triad – God, Country and Family – so battered, though self-evident, and today so new, whilst constantly reviled by our adversaries – is the very one that all Christian sociology must invoke."
(Ibid., p. 195)

" And I consider it of great significance for Brazil's future that Catholics who do not hold leadership positions in Catholic Action and who have a political vocation – without losing their Catholic conscience, which must always come first, for it is the very expression of their honour and dignity as men – that these Catholics, I say, join a movement aimed at a healthy reaction against so many of the evils that are dissolving us from within."
(Ibid., p. 197)

"... if there really is a political vocation, I confess that I see no other party that can, like the Brazilian Integralist Action, so completely satisfy the demands of a Catholic conscience that has freed itself from liberal prejudices."
(Ibid. – p. 215)

"As a historical reaction, Integralism is the healthiest and most useful movement of our current political moment."
(Ibid. – p. 217)

"...the Integralist 'Guidelines', already published, contain nothing that conflicts with the Church's social teachings. And their programme is perhaps the only one among all political parties that sincerely takes into account the fundamental elements of nationality." (Ibid. – p. 218)

"(Integralism) is undoubtedly, of all modern political movements in Brazil, the only one, in my view, that can truly correspond to the vibrant and heroic idealism of these impatient and strong young men".
(Ibid. – p. 215)

"As a political doctrine, (Integralism) aims, at the right time, to restore the weakened sense of authority, to give national unity the fundamental place it deserves in the entire political sociology of Brazil, and to defend the moral and legal foundations of the Brazilian family. All the points of an excellent programme."
(Ibid. – p. 217)

" I believe that our attitude towards the integralist movement should be neither hostile nor confused; it can only be one of cooperation.
(Ibid., p. 219)

On another occasion, the distinguished Catholic thinker states:
"If the government were to ban Integralism, it would be committing a grave injustice, for it would be treating unequal things as equal. Those who applaud the government's actions—not out of partisanship or love for the liberal-democratic regime, but out of love for Brazil and for progress—are perfectly capable of distinguishing what facile parliamentary rhetoric confuses. Integralism does not preach civil war, does not incite class struggle, does not advocate violent expropriation, does not encourage the organisation of hatred. Whatever the excesses of its language at times, or the appearance of its methods of action in the quest for power, it works in defence of the great ideas and institutions that shaped political Brazil, maintained its moral unity, Christianised its soul, and will lead it to a socially peaceful and just future.

Tristão de Ataíde

INTEGRALISM IN THE LIGHT OF CATHOLIC DOCTRINE

Studies of the public documents of the Brazilian
Integralist Action and of the books published by
its leader Plínio Salgado and other
leaders of the movement, in the light of the doctrine of the Doctors of the
Catholic Church and the encyclicals of the Roman Pontiffs, by FATHER
LUDOVICO, MISSIONARY OF THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS

To the integralists, the system presents itself as the perfect manifestation of nationality at this moment in its history.
The observer, however, has the right to place himself at another psychological centre of synthesis to judge the movement, and to consider first the truth, which is the universal criterion
Freedom results from truth, because a value known partially or impartially does not constrain a spirit capable of universality.
Freedom presupposes discipline, because a creature's freedom is exhausted when it exceeds its limits. Nationalism gives the universal its particular form.

1. The Ideal of the True

a) Integralism strives to go beyond the mere accumulation of knowledge, the fusion of epistemological planes, and the disintegration of hypertrophied elements, in order to attain total knowledge, integrating rather than suppressing the various aspects of the problem (– Plínio Salgado – 'The Fourth Humanity', Rio, 1936)

b) – Integralism sees in the citizen not only the political man (liberalism), nor only the economic man (socialism). Nor merely the ethical man (solidarism) or the ascetic, but the integral man, as he is, a member of civil society.
(Miguel Reale – The Modern State, Rio 1934; Olímpio Mourão – From Liberalism to Integralism, Rio 1935; Gustavo Barroso – Spirit of the Twentieth Century, 1936; Paupério and Moreira – Introduction to Integralism, Rio 1936)

c) – Integralism seeks to elucidate current problems through historical syntheses, thereby avoiding a unilateral reaction and integrating the achievements of the past into the future. (- Miguel Reale – The Modern State, International Capitalism, Rio, 1935; The Formation of Bourgeois Politics, Rio, 1935; Current Affairs of an Ancient World, Rio, 1936; Gustavo Barroso, The Fourth Empire, Rio, 1935; Ovídio da Cunha, Essay on the Perspective of History, Rio 1936; Anor Butler Maciel, The Corporate State)

d)– Revolution, says Hillaire Belloc (– Dantos, Chapter I), is the sudden readjustment of a society that has strayed too far from its normal state.
Regarded as a war of the subjects against authorities that remain legitimate, it is condemned by morality. (St Thomas Aquinas, II. XLII)
Regarded as a change of attitude, whether individual or social (Olímpio Mourão, From Liberalism to Integralism) in the face of problems, it depends on the sovereign rights of truth.
Regarded as the conscious and constant interference of the spirit in the course of events, it is not, however, an insurrection condemned by morality, provided it is carried out by the state itself (– Plínio Salgado, The Psychology of Revolution, Rio 1933. The Doctrine of Sigma, São Paulo 1935), it is not an insurrection condemned by morality; St Thomas observes that few people exercise their right to interfere (IIa, Ila, Quaset XCV, art. 5, ad 2)

e) – Integralism's efforts in the pursuit of truth are in accordance with Catholic doctrine, provided that, in accordance with Canon 1324, the validity of incomplete and provisional solutions is recognised when these are necessary to avert an immediate danger. The devotion that Integralism shows to truth allows for a favourable prognosis regarding the realisation of justice, because both truth and justice demand submission to the object. Perhaps popular grievances are a demand for justice rather than for prosperity, and St Thomas insisted on the intimate connection between truth and justice (Summa Theologiae, Questio CIX, Article 3)

2 The ideal of freedom

a) – No government can escape the current problem of adapting freedom to the greater complexities of modern life, and the more or less latent war waged against national sovereignty by communism and capitalism (Gustavo Barroso, Brazil – Colony of Bankers, Rio 1934; Miguel Reale, International Capitalism; Plínio Salgado, 'Doctrine of the Sigma'). On this point, integralism appears to be in a privileged position to promote freedom, because its programme is capable of guaranteeing it with a cultural and economic foundation, and of socialising it, making it accessible to all, which may coincide with the redemption of the proletariat, as demanded by the encyclical 'Quadragesimo Anno' (– M. Reale, 'The ABC of Integralism', Integralist Perspectives, São Paulo, 1935).
Democracy can be regarded as the expression of the people's political freedom. Integralism seeks to safeguard democracy by identifying the state with the nation, rather than with an individual, a party or a class, and by replacing party suffrage with the organic vote of the corporations. Historical studies rule out any tendency towards dictatorship within the movement. (-Plínio Salgado, 'Pátria nova dos tempos novos', Rio, 1936; Olímpio Mourão and Anor Butler Maciel, op. cit.; Jayme R. Pereira, 'Democracia Integralista', Rio, 1936)

b) From a Catholic perspective, it must be recognised that Integralism meets the requirements of freedom set out in the encyclical 'Non Abbiamo Bisogno';

3. The ideal of Discipline

a) – The stability of states stems from order, provided that this order is in accordance with eternal truths (
- Gustavo Barroso, The Fourth Empire)

b) – The salute. The uniform and the hierarchy are elements that constitute the body of integralism; they have value insofar as they correspond to the adage: MENS SANA IN CORPORE SANO.

c) The decision for discipline, affirmation and construction is the intervention of the spirit in an age dominated by a sceptical and mocking mentality, by the orgy of vengeance and destruction (- "la vie intellectuelle", 1 July 1936)

d)– The encyclical 'Quadragesimo Anno' calls for a strong government and a guiding principle for the economy, and permits the nationalisation of services whose private ownership poses a threat to state sovereignty. Now, says R. Georges Renard, O.P., considering the state as the enterprise of sovereignty in comparison with private enterprises, the state maintains its preponderance if there is a certain balance between the mass of administrative services—or those in any way dominated or supervised by the state—and the mass of capitalist enterprises. On the other hand, the nationalisation of credit will come about in the new Middle Ages, which already exists because private enterprises are in a feudal dependence on credit. Therefore, the integralist programme of economic discipline meets with no opposition in pontifical teaching

4. The ideal of nationalism
a) - 'My nationalism is filled with God,' says Plínio Salgado, 'and thirsts for justice; my nationalism is not a literary attitude: it is a drama, it is a tragedy, it is the interpretation of a people's anguish and the aspirations of a nation' (– 'The Offensive', 9 March 1936). The Nation, as a moral person, subordinate to God, is not subordinate to other nations and helps them with its surplus.

b) The country's traditional culture has the right to prevail over the imported and imitative civilisation of other countries (– Plínio Salgado, *The Psychology of Revolution*).

c) – If the participation of Catholics in parties of believers and atheists is accepted, a fortiori the united front of believers advocated by Integralism will be admissible.
The Integralist solution has in its favour the argument that the common good is for all, in which faith in God indicates a moral capacity to collaborate in the common good (– St Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologiae, Questio CXIV. Art. 3, 'Caritae christi compulsi', 3 May 1932). Pius XI demands that in this collaboration there be no coercion against the faith or the Church. Question CXIV. ART. 3 Pius XI, 'Caritae christi compulsi', 3 May 1932). Pius XI demands that in this collaboration there be no coercion against faith or the practice of religion, and that at the same time Catholics may be members of religious associations,
e.g. Catholic Action (- encyclical "Quadragesimo Anno"). By limiting collaboration to matters of the natural order and rejecting any attempt to equate the divine institution with human limitations, integralism will not be contrary to the encyclical 'MORTALIUM ANIMOS' (- Pius XI, Encyclical Mortalium Animos, 6 September 1928, on true unity in religion)

d) – The cultural and historical ties that exist between the various countries of Latin America provide nationalism with a broad vision, and give hope for a collective defence of South American culture and a global influence of its principles. (– Plínio Salgado, speech on the centenary of Carlos Gomes, Campinas, 1936)

CONCLUSIONS – 1. Religion neither imposes nor prevents Catholics from adhering to integralism.

2. Integralism contributes to the philosophy of the perenis through its doctrine of the fourth humanity and the integral man, particularly through its vigorous affirmation of the thinker's right to prefer an integral view of the problem to partial solutions, however worthy of respect.
Compared to the totalitarian state, the integral state represents progress, because it does not include the Caesarian idea of authority and better expresses the initiative of the parts within the whole (
- Gustavo Barroso, Integralism and the World)

3. Integralism is an open and perfectible system, which offers a solid foundation for studying new solutions and tackling new problems.

4. The reflections presented by Tristão de Ataíde deserve full consideration; a) Exaltation and expectation are attitudes worthy of censure and condemnation. B) It is perfectly

compatible with the doctrine and practice of Catholicism to show understanding or insight, sympathy, and idealistic participation, whilst considering oneself a doctrinal member of the movement. c) It could be of great significance for the future of Brazil if lay Catholics who hold no leadership responsibilities within Catholic Action, and who have a political vocation, were to join the movement, without losing their Catholic conscience, which must always take precedence above all else, for the very sake of their honour and dignity as men.

INTEGRALISM JUDGED BY ITS CONTEMPORARIES

A magistrate says:

'Can integralism be classified as extremism?
The answer is no, given that the doctrine expounded is opposed to all violence and is based on the conviction of peaceful propaganda.
Can Integralism be treated on an equal footing with communism? Should Integralism be combated as a doctrine harmful to the Brazilian Nation? I answer no, taking into account the exposition of the aims pursued by the Integralist Doctrine."
JUDGE BRITO BASTOS
(of the Court of Justice of São Paulo).
A jurist speaks:

"If extremism means the extreme opposite of the prevailing situation, tending to subvert it through violence, then the integralist doctrine cannot be regarded as such, since, as can be seen from the writings of its proponents,it has numerous points of contact with Brazilian tradition and contemporary life, loving God, venerating the Fatherland, respecting the family, safeguarding property, upholding national sovereignty, and preaching freedom of conscience, whilst proposing fundamental reforms regarding the corporate organisation of the productive classes.
One may disagree with Integralism, but one must never combat it as a pernicious doctrine. Indeed, a doctrine which, like Integralism, places God above all else could never be pernicious."
ABRAHÃO RIBEIRO (Eminent jurist and, at the time, Secretary of
Justice for São Paulo).

A priest speaks:
Can Integralism be classified as extremism?
Only if one reverses the meaning of the terms and calls, for example, order 'disorder'.
Should Integralism be considered a doctrine harmful to the Brazilian nation?
The very fact that such a hypothesis can even be put forward is the clearest indication of the mental chaos in which we live. Is a doctrine that preaches nothing but the unity and greatness of the Brazilian nation really so pernicious? That is pure nonsense.

CANON DR FRANCISCO BASTOS
(From the Metropolitan Chapter of São

Paulo) A General Speaks:

'Should Integralism be included amongst the organisations to be combated and punished under the security law currently under discussion?
No.
Should integralism be treated on an equal footing with communism?
No
Should integralism be condemned as a doctrine harmful to the Brazilian nation? Absolutely not. I believe that integralism is protected by the Constitution of 16 July."
GENERAL PANTALEÃO PESSOA
(At the time, Chief of the Army General Staff)

Another General speaks:

Integralism is a Brazilian party. It has a defined meaning and ideology, and a national objective. Its sphere of action is Brazil, which is also the goal of its aspirations. It may or may not succeed, depending on the resonance its gospel finds in the deepest layers of the Brazilian soul. But it is a party, and its efforts to expand must be respected.

GENERAL GÓIS MONTEIRO
(Minister of War at the time) A

great national figure speaks:

Integralism, in accordance with its programme of objectives, is a coordination of social forces—conservative and progressive—which are irreplaceable elements of civilisation. It should not, therefore, be included amongst the organisations that must be combated and punished in the name of public security.
By publicly proclaiming and propagating its doctrine, integralism exercises a right and fulfils a duty of patriotic morality, which, in extreme circumstances, may even lead to the preaching of revolution, on the grounds of self-defence. Far from deserving condemnation, therefore, it deserves praise and encouragement.

COUNT AFONSO CELSO

A Member of Parliament speaks:
Can integralism be classified as extremism?

No, given that the integralist doctrine fully realises the moral and political aims that inspired the Constitution of 14 July, as can be seen from the preamble which served as the explanatory memorandum for the promulgation of that very Constitution.
Can integralism be treated on an equal footing with communism? Given the terms of my previous answer, clearly not.
Should integralism be combated as a doctrine harmful to the Brazilian nation?
I could still confine myself to the terms of my answer to the first point, and nothing more. But I feel I must add more; and I say: No, because those citizens who stray from the principles demanding respect for God, the homeland and the family are the ones who are harmful to the Brazilian nation; they are the ones who diminish the moral standing of the homeland, as well as its economic standing, and refuse to make any effort towards anything that signifies improvement. And, in my view, I say this sincerely, although I am not a sectarian, the integralist doctrine does not benefit the nation morally or economically.
DEPUTY CIRILO JUNIOR (Current Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies)

A lawyer says:
Can integralism be classified as extremism?
I fail to understand how one can or would seek to classify as extremism a doctrine that preaches the soundest principles, which are and always have been rooted in the Brazilian public consciousness and which have invariably been enshrined in their broad outlines in the various constitutions that have governed our destiny.
Can Integralism be treated on an equal footing with communism and be combated as a doctrine harmful to the Brazilian nation?
Rather than being combated as a doctrine harmful to the Brazilian nation, Integralism should, on the contrary, be supported and upheld by all those who respect the principles it preaches and which have always constituted the general framework upon which our homeland was founded and developed. I am not part of Integralism. But I do not deny, nor can I deny, the purity of its core principles.
JOÃO DENTE (a highly renowned legal expert in São Paulo). A

sociologist speaks:

Can integralism be classified as extremism?
Evidently not. Unless one ascribes to the words a legal meaning diametrically opposed to that which they convey in everyday language, no one can describe integralism as extremism. The latter term has an unequivocal meaning, denoting ideas, tendencies and organisations that are irreconcilably antagonistic to the prevailing social order in Western-style civilised countries.
Can integralism be treated on an equal footing with communism?
No. And the answer given to the previous question sufficiently explains why such an equation strikes me as absurd.
Should integralism be combated as a doctrine harmful to the Brazilian nation?

No. Whatever reservations one might have regarding one aspect or another of the Brazilian Integralist Action programme, no one in their right mind can level even the slightest accusation against this movement that it poses a threat to Brazil's national and social organisation, as it currently stands. Although Integralism advocates a form of state organisation different from the present one, it proclaims as its objective the more effective fulfilment of the primary purpose of the current political organisation, which is to maintain national unity and ensure the stability of social institutions, explicitly guaranteed by the political constitution currently in force in the country.
AZEVEDO AMARAL (Distinguished Brazilian thinker and polymath)

1937
(Documents Nos. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17)

LET US SAVE DEMOCRACY!

Speech by Plínio Salgado on 23 May 1937,
in the capital of the republic.

Green Shirts of the Fatherland!
Compatriots from all the provinces!
Across the whole of Brazil, from the great cities to the tiny villages of the most remote hinterlands, the Green Shirts are gathered together at this very moment. Offering the people of our homeland the greatest civic spectacle of all time.
Brazilian history will record this event as the first indisputable act of pure democracy practised by a political party.
It concerns the choice of the name that the Integralists intend to put forward and submit to the nation's vote in the forthcoming presidential elections.
This name will not emerge from a meeting of leaders, nor from elected representatives of the people in any public office, whose mandate is restricted to specific powers and prerogatives, among which is not included the authority to deliberate on the selection of candidates to be put forward for the ballot box.

Spirit of the Constitution
In view of the duty incumbent upon the Brazilian Integralist Movement, as a national political party duly registered with the Supreme Electoral Court, to attend the grand rally on 3 January, I had to reflect on the means we should employ to act in accordance with the very spirit of the Constitution and the laws, drawing a clear line so as not to undermine the current regime, through the honest practice of which we aim, in the future, to bring about the reforms indispensable to its definitive stability.

The first possibility that presented itself for my consideration was that of convening Integralist councillors, mayors and deputies; when they elected their representatives, they did so for them to perform the duties defined by law.
State governors, senators, and state and federal deputies, as well as Integralist mayors, within the sphere of their municipalities by virtue of the offices they hold, could exert pressure from their personal viewpoints on colleagues who disagreed with them.
Having searched in vain, I have found no article, paragraph or clause in the federal or state constitutions, nor in the laws derived from these charters, any article, paragraph or clause granting powers of decision-making on behalf of political parties or the people to state governors, senators, state or federal deputies, mayors or councillors, I concluded that the intervention of any of these authorities in a matter falling within the exclusive competence of popular sovereignty would constitute a profound blow to democracy.

ATTACK ON THE REGIME

On the day that Brazilians elected to any of these offices meet and deliberate, on behalf of political parties or the people, we shall be faced with an attack on the regime, the instability of which undermines irrefutable democratic norms.
Nor does the argument hold water that these men, when they meet and deliberate in this way, with the aim of directing electoral currents, act as mere citizens, outside the framework of their functions under constitutional or legal norms, since it is inconceivable to abstract from them the character of delegates of public power and holders of forces that may be employed as coercion and individual freedom.

THE FOUNDATION OF DEMOCRACIES

It is a fundamental condition for the life of democracies or the existence of political parties whose viability is expressed in the legitimate deliberations of their members (a condition denied to this day by the so-called 'coordinators' of state governments); or the existence of bodies that channel and organise the free will of citizens, classified according to the economic, intellectual and moral interests of each individual and of the nation.
Since this second type of democracy is not the one currently in force in Brazil, it follows that the current situation must allow political parties to operate.

HISTORICAL REASONS

It was precisely this artificiality that overshadowed the free play of political currents following the fall of the democratic and parliamentary monarchy on 15 November 1889 and, later, of the liberal democratic republic on 24 October 1930.
In the first instance, the emperor's personal power was blamed, his interference having become increasingly evident since the fall of the Zacarias cabinet; in the latter case
, a case was made against the high-handedness of the then President of the Republic, which, in the final analysis, was nothing more than impotence subject to the whims of the 'personal power' of the governors, who systematically interfered in the deliberations of the parties, from the government of Campos Sales right up to the government of Mr Washington Luiz.

The outcry that arose in the final days of the Empire was one demanding the proper functioning of the parties; it was no different from the clamour that arose in 1929, when the governors were consulted on a matter that fell exclusively within the remit of the country's political factions.

THE GOVERNORS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE CONSTITUTION

The objection that governors are party leaders is an immoral one, amounting to an admission of the regime's demise, and effectively sanctioning political patronage, blatant electoral manipulation, the institutionalisation of violence, and the perpetration of fraud through administrative machinery which, as long-standing practice has shown, has become an instrument for subjugating the will of the people.

The mere fact that the Constitution of the Republic deems state governors ineligible for the nation's highest office demonstrates that they possess sufficient material means to, in practice, distort the spirit of the regime, being able to use their power to advance their political interests.

And it should be noted that this ineligibility refers to normal periods when the constitution is in full force; in our case, however, we are in a 'state of war', which makes the political power of the governors far more serious, as they are responsible for enforcing the 'state of war', which makes the political power of the governors far more serious, as they are responsible for enforcing the 'state of war' that arms them with a discretion against which the remedies of 'habeas corpus' and the writ of mandamus are suspended.

Now, if this is the case, how can those who are barred from standing as candidates because they pose a threat to freedom within a state have candidates of their own?

A GRAVE CONFESSION

If it is admitted that it is entirely impossible for parties to express themselves freely without interference from the 'personal power' of governors, then it will also have been admitted that the representative democratic system is in its death throes and that reforms are urgently needed to ensure its vitality.

THE POLITICAL COHESION OF THE COUNTRY

The spirit of the federal republican system cannot accept the notion of governors' personal discretion on a matter of such political significance, for that would be to deny the very origin of the republic, which was proclaimed precisely because of what was then called the 'personal power' of the emperor.

It would be absurd if, instead of abolishing this 'personal power'—which was said to prevent the functioning of political parties—that power were divided into 22 pieces, with larger portions going to some and smaller to others.

If the monarch's personal power was harmful to the workings of parliament and the free movement of parties, on the other hand it constituted a centre of political gravity, which

, whilst harming the system, at least sustained a sense of national unity. But this power
, divided amongst many, shifts the centre of the country's political cohesion; this not only perpetuates the very flaw against which the Republicans rose up on 15 November, but also exacerbates it, given the dangers it poses to national unity.

APPLICATION OF A PRINCIPLE

Having examined this hypothesis and found that the interference of governors in the selection of candidates for permanent posts undermines the spirit of the regime, violates the constitution, suppresses political parties and threatens public and private freedoms, we applied this principle to the smaller municipal sphere and reached the conclusion that mayors and councillors, with their express and defined mandates, do not, in turn, have the authority to express the will of the segment of the Brazilian public they represent on matters pertaining to the scope of their mandates.
Under these circumstances, we abandoned the idea of a conclave of councillors, mayors and Integralist deputies.
I considered the second possibility, which would be to convene the Supreme Council, the national secretaries, the Chamber of Forty, the arch-provincials, the provincial chiefs, and the Chamber of Four Hundred, so that, constituting the courts of the sigma, they might choose the name that the Brazilian Integralist movement should put forward for the nation's vote.
Having examined this idea, I concluded that such a measure also failed to reflect the true democratic spirit, the foundation of the entire strength of Integralist authority.

AUTHORITY IN INTEGRALISM

As is well known, the miracle of party discipline that we have achieved in this country is based on the process of establishing the supreme authority of Integralism. The leader of our movement has exercised his functions since 7 October 1932, in obedience to the sovereign will of the mass of Green Shirts. Each time Integralism grows, doubling or tripling its ranks, the leader takes care to renew his resignation before the masses of his followers. It is the absolutely free will of these followers that, spontaneously, deliberates, constituting the supreme authority of the party. This authority, therefore, is strong, because it does not arise from backroom deals; it is upright, because it needs not expend effort to sustain itself; it is without contradiction, because it does not stem from the choice of leaders but rather from the determination of the collective; it is an uncompromising authority, capable, therefore, of administering justice. It is an authority that remains steadfast in upholding the movement's doctrinal guidelines.
Now, if we proceed in this manner with regard to the creation of the party's supreme authority and the affirmation of its mystique, and if this genuinely democratic process brings about the miracle of order within our ranks, would it not be advisable that, when it comes to choosing the name of the person we propose to the nation to embody the principle of national authority in a time of uncertainty, the principle of national authority, we should appeal to the judgement of the delegations, which are almost always distorted or tainted by serious flaws.

No! A meeting of leaders, of senior figures within the movement, of delegates from the local branches, would not capture the very essence of that democratic spirit which has been absent from Brazilian politics and from whose source we, as integralists, draw the strength necessary for the salvation of our nation through unity and the defence of the sacred institutions bequeathed to us by our forefathers.

THE PLEBISCITE

It was thus that, after long deliberation, I adopted the plebiscite format. It is a consultation with all the Integralists of Brazil. Every green-shirted member felt, yesterday and today, dignified by that which constitutes the fundamental basis of our state doctrine: the fragility of the human person and the free will of each individual.

And let no one see any inconsistency in the stance of a party such as ours, which seeks to establish in Brazil the strictest economic, social and political discipline, increasingly secured by the force of the state. For true freedom is only possible when discipline curbs the personal appetites that seek to devour the freedoms of others, and the strength of the state derives not from the terror it may instil, but from the love of the people, which it awakens, precisely because it promotes legitimate freedoms.

Freedom and discipline harmonise perfectly. What does not harmonise with discipline is anarchy. Democracy and authority move to a single beat. What does not align with the principle of authority is demagoguery, behind which lurk arrogant oligarchies and the Moscow patrols!

EXTRAORDINARY CONTRAST!

In clarifying this aspect of the great civic act with which Integralism has just moved all righteous souls, I wish to draw the attention of Brazilians to these facts which express the reality of the national situation:

The Brazilian Integralist Movement, which, to save democracy in our country and the unity of the homeland, has proclaimed and continues to proclaim—following conscientious studies of forty years of political experience—the unviability of political parties in the face of interference by state governors, interference which is as harmful to the functioning of the presidential and federal system as was the monarch's interference in the free operation of the parliamentary system of the Empire.

The Brazilian Integralist Action, which proposes to the country a constitutional reform suited to the modern demands of social and economic phenomena and consistent with the highly complex circumstances of the national environment, replacing the hypocritical fiction of regional parties—mere paper masks for oligarchies and tyrannies—with corporations capable of capturing and expressing the legitimate sovereignty of the people:

The Brazilian Integralist Action, however, in order to align itself with the spirit of the current constitution and the political theory of its own adversaries—a theory they themselves contradict in practice—appeals, through this plebiscite, to the last resort by which the idea of the 'political party' might be saved in its utmost democratic purity.

The opponents of the 'Brazilian Integralist Action', who gather claiming their aim is to save the democratic regime from what they call 'right-wing extremism'; these opponents of the movement, who shout at the top of their lungs that a sacred union is necessary against those who wish to destroy the famous democratic freedoms; it is precisely these people who deal a deathblow to the regime they claim to defend, allowing state governors, who are ineligible under the constitution, and consequently suspect of manipulating public opinion, to usurp the functions of the parties, declaring—not merely in words, but through sensational acts—the complete collapse of democracy, the foundations of which rest on the existence of parties, and in such a way that the current electoral law adheres to the spirit of party representation.

ACT OF FAITH AND ACT OF APOSTASY

Whilst we, who seek fair and honest reforms, clearly setting out our views to the nation, carried out yesterday and today, in all the integralist centres of the country, an act of faith in democracy, tomorrow, in an ostentatious conclave, legitimise, through an act of the same nature, the stance amounting to a coup against the regime, adopted by one of these governors when he launched, in the name of a party, the candidacy that will now be that of the opposition.

IT IS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE

I do not wish to undermine the personal integrity of any of you governors with these words, whether it be the one who spoke out first, expressing his preference for a candidate, or those who took the initiative to meet in order to coordinate the views of the majority of those currently in charge of the state of war.
I am raising not a personal issue, but a matter of principle.
Nor am I entering into an analysis of the names of the candidates around whom the majority or minority of state government officials are rallying.
The election campaign has not yet begun and it is too early to delve into the merits of preferences. The time has come to raise this preliminary point, in light of the Constitution and the state of war—a preliminary point which I submit for the consideration of the Republic's judiciary as the uncontested interpreter of the constitutional and legal spirit, and for the consideration of the Brazilian people, as the supreme stakeholders in this matter which concerns their sovereignty.

THE ATTITUDE OF INTEGRALISM

That being said, it falls to me to tell the integralists throughout the country, who democratically chose yesterday and today the candidate they wish to put forward for the nation's electoral vote on 3 January 1938, that their decision will be accepted by the leadership of the movement to which they belong. Once the counting is complete, the chosen name will be proclaimed
. With him we shall go to the polls, whatever the consequences, the persecution, the suffering, because it is our duty to defend, at all costs, legitimate democracy against

those who sever it from the people, pretending to safeguard it against us 'integralists', whilst they hang it in the shadows of the palaces.
It is in our best interests that the elections take place.
We are fully committed to ensuring that order is maintained in the country. We want the peace necessary for the electoral contests. We are not inspired by any intentions of violence. We are not affiliated with anyone outside our ranks. We shall respect the constituted authorities just as we want them to respect our legitimate rights. We uphold our rights within the law and before the courts. We shall not stray from this path.

COMMUNISM AND SEPARATISM

The Brazilian Integralist Action is well aware that, infiltrated within the two pro-government factions supporting the two candidates, there are highly skilled agents of Bolshevism, obeying the orders of the Comintern and preparing conditions conducive to treason against the Fatherland. They have taken an active part in the campaign against the Green Shirts. As in 1930, they will divide themselves tactically between the two opposing camps of the state-level pro-government factions. We are aware of this and remain vigilant.
We also foresee, as this campaign unfolds, the intensification of regionalist sentiments, which will be exploited by those in charge of electoral propaganda. Our crimes will be perpetrated against the nation. The flags of the states will be unfurled. Separatist paranoia will intensify. Regionalisms of the south and the north will clash. The Brazilian homeland will suffer humiliations.
We are seeing all this, we are feeling it. Against all this, we shall remain vigilant, in constant evangelisation, in perpetual sacrifice.
Against the disintegration of Brazil and against enslaving Bolshevism, we shall not, however, be alone. The immortal spirit of the nation's unity has its votive flame in every barracks and on every warship of Brazil; that flame has never been extinguished since the cry of Ipiranga, and it will not be extinguished even in those hours when political passions cause the eclipse of all the lights of understanding in the country's men of public responsibility. Free from partisan commitments of any kind, we shall uphold the principle of centralised power, without which there can be neither democracy, nor order, nor internal peace, nor security against the threats of international capitalism, nor defence against the onslaught of communism, nor the inviolability of national traditions.

OUR CONFIDENCE

With these provisions, we shall go to the polls. We shall go with confidence in the guarantees offered to us by the constitution and the laws of the country. We shall go with confidence in the impartiality and patriotism of the President of the Republic, who, no doubt, will have no preference for any candidate
, but will know how to rise above passions and interests, ensuring that justice is done and freedoms are guaranteed during the election campaign. We shall go forward confident in the unblemished robes of the judiciary, which will not lack the courage to defend us against the attacks of the arrogant. We shall go forward—why not say it?—confident in the very dignity of our

opponents, who will not wish to leave indelible stains on the memory of future generations.

MOBILISATION OF PATRIOTISM

The flag we unfurl is the flag of Brazil.
All those who wish for the greatness of a united homeland will come to us, because we do not support a candidate from São Paulo, nor from Rio Grande, nor from the Northeast, nor from Minas: we support a candidate for Brazil.
All those who no longer believe in the sincerity of the so-called defenders of democratic freedoms will come to us, for we are the most legitimate, the purest expression of Brazilian democracy, as demonstrated by the plebiscite rallies of yesterday and today.
All those who desire a state capable of preventing the humble from being trampled upon and mistreated will come to us, because an efficient state draws its strength from the will of the people, and integralism is the only movement that consults that will of the people.
We uphold the Flag of Brazil. THE

COLOURS OF OUR FLAG

This flag, considered in terms of the predominance of its colours, is indeed green, as stated by the President of the Republic. Green, in truth, expresses the profound essence of the land of Brazil, in its youth, its eternal spring. An 'analyst', who has become an expert on matters of 'flags', sought to correct the concise statement of the head of state, asserting that the Brazilian flag is not merely green, because its colours, in his opinion, are two: green and yellow.
Destiny, however, always reserves the final word for integralism. The final word that the green shirts will one day speak for the happiness of the homeland. The final word that we shall now speak regarding the Brazilian flag.
The fact is that the critic of the presidential speech, wishing to replace the descriptive summary with a detailed analysis, became so enthralled by the other's colour that he did not continue his research.
Integralism will now say that the Brazilian flag is not merely green, nor merely green and yellow. In the centre there is a sphere in blue and white, the same colours as the flag of our country's sole national party, which has today become the last hope for national salvation. In that blue and white sphere, the Positivists in '89 placed a star, which belongs to the constellation of the Octant and is called Sigma. It was a prophecy of the Positivists.
The colours of green and yellow will be upheld, for all time, by the colours of blue and white and by the symbolic inspiration of the North Star, heralding a new civilisation in the southern hemisphere.

This civilisation will be created by the Green Shirts. They have already fostered a national spirit that has become an unshakeable historical phenomenon. No force can halt their advance!

MARCHING TOWARDS THE STRUGGLE!

In this hour of apprehension, the Green Shirts reaffirm their doctrine of Christian spiritualism and national unity.
With this conviction, they fear nothing. And those who act contrary to this new national consciousness and pretend to be unaware of it will have to retreat in surprise before the verdict of the ballot box on 3 January 1938.
The voice of the humble, the cry of the forgotten, the clamour of those whose most just aspirations have been thwarted, the yearnings of those who think and suffer for Brazil, the anxieties of families in the face of the Bolshevik spectre, the complaints of those who have been deceived by the hypocrisies of unjust rulers, the distress of those who fear the disintegration of the great homeland, all this will speak – with the greatest of political surprises – in the counting of the presidential election votes.
Either this will happen, or there will have been no freedom; democracy will have been buried, the laws vilified, the constitution torn to shreds, the Brazilian people ridiculed.
Therefore, compatriots throughout Brazil, only God can inspire you. And that inspiration, which has not failed us since 1932 when we were forty until today when we are a million, that divine light shall illuminate our path; and just as we have marched safely to this day, trusting in God, so shall we march under His miracle.
It is with this thought, this hope, this certainty, that we throw ourselves into the fray. Alea jacta est! The die is cast!
May God be with us!
And may God, from the heights of heaven, where the sigma shines,
command us! And may He save Brazil!

CHRIST AND THE INTEGRAL STATE

At the most solemn session of the Sigma courts (12 June 1937), during which he was proclaimed a candidate for the presidential succession, Plínio Salgado delivered a speech, concluding with the following words:

The Integral State is everything you have heard from the reading of the October Manifesto and the Programme Manifesto. It is everything I have just set out and explained to you. But, for me, in the innermost recesses of my heart, and in the most mysterious depths of my soul, the Integral State transcends political forms and philosophical thought itself. For the Integral State, essentially, is for me the state that comes from Christ, is inspired by Christ, acts through Christ and goes to Christ.

The ideal state is Brazil, realising its material happiness and national greatness within a profound sense of human solidarity and brotherhood among all Brazilians; it is Brazil, where every inhabitant, conscious of their duties and rights, respecting the rights of others, breathes and lives in perfect fraternity and, fundamentally, the marvellous dreams of the nation's strength and splendour in the worship of ancient virtues, which are the very foundation of the homes of their country; it is Brazil working, producing, creating, prospering, growing, to the rhythm of the most perfect social harmony in which the interests of its children and its community are balanced, reconciled and understood; it is Brazil as an ancient relic, a paten of noble craftsmanship, a sword of precious metals, which one reveres and kisses on one's knees; it is Brazil expressing the immortal songs of the heart and of the race and the pure sentiment of goodness; Brazil strong, respected, powerful, civilised, just, wise, heroic and beautiful, with its thoughts raised high towards Christ, the beginning and end of all human paths

This is the complete state, as I understand it in the depths of my conscience, in the quiet hours when I turn to God, asking Him to bring happiness to my people. And that is why, at this moment, I wish to make a public profession of my faith to you.

I believe in the eternal God; I believe in the immortal soul; I believe in the human soul's power of choice and deliberation, and in its capacity to influence historical events, rousing the multitudes and guiding them. I believe in Christ and in the light that descends from him. I believe that those who invoke it, who beseech it for inspiration, who humbly ask it for wisdom, strength and hope, hear the mysterious harps of the archangels who once roused simple men of good will to praise the Lord.

For Christ I have risen; for Christ I desire a great Brazil; for Christ I teach the doctrine of human solidarity and social harmony; for Christ I struggle; for Christ I call out to you; for Christ I lead the voice; for Christ I shall fight.

In times of persecution, hardship and uncertainty for us, for Brazil, I wish to rely on you, O Christ! In times of victory, I wish to build with you. And when they call us weak, O Christ, I ask you, grant us, from the heights of your glory, your strength!

SPEECH BY DR GETULIO VARGAS ON 14 JUNE 1937

In his capacity as President of the Republic, Mr Getúlio Vargas, upon receiving the delegation that brought him the news of Plínio Salgado for the presidential succession, delivered the following speech:

Gentlemen:

I have had no contact whatsoever with the Integralist movement until now. I do not even know your leader, Mr Plínio Salgado, personally. I have received you today because you have come to inform me officially that you have a candidate for the presidential succession of the Republic.

I received you to declare that the President of the Republic has no candidate and that he will guarantee everyone freedom of vote and the free exercise of political rights.
I had assumed, perhaps because I was unfamiliar with it, that Integralism was a movement of inexperienced young men. I see, however, to my pleasant surprise, here and now, eminent men of my country affiliated with this movement, which I must say impresses me favourably.
I cannot help but view with the utmost sympathy the enthusiasm of men such as Professor Rocha Vaz, my old friend Belisario Pena, General Vieira da Rosa, Dr Amaro Lanari and other men, whose integrity of character I am accustomed to hearing praised, and I cannot, therefore, fail to regard them all as respectable men.
I must also state that I have never encountered any opposition to my government from the Integralists. I have never caught them engaging in any conspiracy, or in any movement aimed at subverting the established order or the country's current institutions.
I must state all this for the sake of truth, and I conclude by thanking you for informing me regarding your candidate for the presidential succession

SPEECH BY THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE ON 14 JUNE 1937

Receiving the delegation informing him of
the choice of Plínio Salgado as the
, Dr José Carlos de Macedo Soares,
Minister of Justice, delivered the
following speech:

Gentlemen of the Integralist Movement:
I am deeply grateful for the announcement you have come to make to the Minister of Justice that the Brazilian Integralist Action has chosen the eminent Brazilian Plínio Salgado as its candidate for the forthcoming presidential elections of the Republic.
I shall confine myself to stating that the Government of the Republic will strictly maintain impartiality and, undoubtedly, the rights of all registered parties throughout the entire election campaign. The track record of President Getúlio Vargas, moreover, amply guarantees the broadest freedom, with full assurance of everyone's rights.
I must tell you that the Brazilian Integralist Action has its existence secured simply by a registration that could be made by anyone, by three or four individuals gathered under a party banner. The Brazilian Integralist Action is established as the only existing national party in Brazil, and guaranteed by the great national figures present here today.
That, gentlemen of the Integralist movement, is what I had

to say to you. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND

INTEGRALISM

Distinguished archbishops

of Brazil on the Integralist movement and
the figure of Plínio Salgado

Our sympathies towards the integralist doctrine are well known; we see nothing in it that would prevent a Catholic from embracing it. In this regard, we are pleased to see this view confirmed in a recent book, *Science and Religion*, which has been approved by ecclesiastical authorities—a significant development in many respects, and all the more so as it is an apologetic manual intended for seminaries and schools. - Francisco, Metropolitan Archbishop of Cuiabá.

"As far as a careful examination of the subject has allowed us, it is our conviction that there is nothing in Integralism that conflicts in the slightest with the doctrine of the Catholic Church." – Joaquim, Metropolitan Archbishop of Florianópolis.

"Catholics have ample freedom to embrace Integralism. I see no incompatibility between Integralist doctrine and Catholic morality. I hold the highest regard for the national leader of Integralism, Plínio Salgado, considering him a true Catholic and a sincere patriot." – Carlos, Metropolitan Archbishop of Maranhão. (Current Archbishop of São Paulo).

"Plínio Salgado, a patriot without guile, who, aspiring to the highest national happiness in all its administrative departments, raises from the far north to the south the banner of the sacred trinity of God, Country and Family—the only one which, if practised well and sincerely, will save the Land of the Holy Cross, both spiritually and temporally." – Otaviano, Archbishop of Campos.

"The Integralist ideal, as I see it, is such as to win the sympathy of all souls vibrant with patriotic faith; it already possesses a high level of civic and religious culture in its great men, who are credited with outstanding services rendered to the Fatherland and to the Church. They therefore deserve the blessings of the Lord and of Catholic Brazil. We invoke these precious graces upon them. – Antônio, Archbishop-Bishop of Jaboticabal

'Integralism deserves the full sympathy of the clergy' – Manuel, Metropolitan Archbishop of Fortaleza

"At this most grave moment we are going through, Integralism is a living force in defence of the moral foundations of the Brazilian Fatherland." – Francisco, Bishop of Campinas.

"I was delighted to hear the news of the Integralists' Easter, led by the National Leader. This fact is of the utmost importance" – Hermeto, Bishop of Uruguaiana.

"One need only be able to read to see the superiority of Integralism's approach to life's grave problems, compared with the parties of liberal democracy.

"Anyone who, leading a movement in the mould of Integralism, speaks and writes with the fearlessness, energy and frankness with which Mr Plínio Salgado speaks and writes, has the right to do so" – José, Bishop of Bragança.

"We advise good Catholics and the clergy to support Integralism, the only means of action currently capable of preventing the tremendous collapse that threatens religion and the Fatherland. Every day we become more convinced that the actions of the central government of the Republic, in relation to what is spreading without the slightest coercion from the Federal Capital, constitute a blatant and indisputable manipulation of Divine Providence, inspired by this powerful and effective means of the country's salvation. 'If, moreover, in Integralism we have a school of sound patriotism and an ideology very close to Catholic doctrine, it will be our pleasure to support it, so that God may help us, especially in these uncertain and dangerous times we are living through' – Manuel, Bishop of Aterrado.

"Just as the government of the republic permits the free preaching of Integralism, the Church also welcomes into its bosom, as beloved children, the Green Shirts who gather at its altar to implore the Lord's blessings upon the magnificent work they are carrying out" – José, Bishop of Niterói

"I express my satisfaction at such a frank endorsement of Integralism, whose leaders, approaching the Eucharistic table during the Easter celebration, set a fine example of faith." – Ranulfo, Bishop of Guaxupé

"Integralism, faithful to its motto, 'God, Country and Family', deserves my applause, especially in these times" – Antonio, Bishop of Assis.

"As Integralism is a perfectly legal political party and its programme is in accordance with Catholic doctrine—and for that very reason diametrically opposed to the nefarious ideologies of communism—it deserves my full support, especially at the present time." – Fernando, Bishop of Jacarezinho.

Plínio Salgado is an intelligent and cultured man, guided by sound Catholic principles, whose activities reveal the profound and assured vision of a wise man, a sociologist and a sincere patriot, eager to serve the cause of God, country and family – an irreplaceable triad that forms the foundation of any system which does not feed on utopian ideals, nor compromise with ambitions driven by personal interest"- Luís, Bishop of Uberaba

"Our congratulations, our words of comfort and our blessings to these fine Brazilians who, as soldiers of Christ and under the protection of the Most Holy Mary, the glorious patroness of Brazil, sustain the struggle for the Family and the Fatherland against the dark and cruel

communism, full of enthusiasm and ready for every sacrifice. Forward, friends, with faith in God. Forward, God wills it! God is with us."
Eduardo, Bishop of Ilhéus.
'I read the interview on integralism, published in Ação, the daily newspaper of São Paulo, by His Excellency the Most Reverend Dom José Maurício da Rocha, a shining figure of the episcopate, whose pen has always shone in the defence of noble ideas. It suffices, therefore, that this lucid insight from one of the most distinguished representatives of the national episcopate should hold me in such high and esteemed regard." – Adalberto, Bishop of Pesqueira.

"I congratulate the Integralists on the fine example of discipline and faith they have just set for the whole of Brazil, fulfilling their Easter duty so nobly and without fear of human respect.
God will bless those who observe His laws." – Vicente, Bishop of Corumbá

"God, Country and Family: the noble motto of Integralism, as it is for every man who thinks in a Christian manner. A family shaped by the great Christian ideals, founded upon the holy fear of God and imbued with its sacred duty towards Him—this is the new future of a great nation" – Inocêncio, Bishop of Campanha.

Jornal Do Brasil, 11 November 1937

ORIGIN OF THE SLANDERS AGAINST INTEGRALISM

Kominterm directive in which it was determined,
as a means of destroying Brazilian Integralism
, to brand it with the slanderous accusation of being an agent of
Nazism. In this document, President Vargas's government is also
branded as reactionary, its
policy labelled 'Hitlerist'

'Concentrating fire on the "leaders" of Integralism and the government's Hitlerite policy, emphasising that these "leaders" are agents of the most reactionary groups of imperialism, we must fight everywhere for the national democratic-liberation front, especially at the grassroots level, including that of the Integralist movement. We must mobilise the masses so that they demand of the two candidates (Armando Salles and José Américo de Almeida) not 'empty phrases about democracy', but a clear stance on the concrete problems of the country's democratisation, which requires, to begin with , the

"the release of Prestes and his comrades, their full amnesty, and the establishment of a regime of democratic freedoms".

(From the international correspondence 'Political Guidance
Bulletin of the Comintern, formerly
Request to the Brazilian Section of the Communist International
, No. 28, by the bureau located at 14 Rue de l'Echaudé, 5th
arrondissement, Paris, sent by Victor Gruau. This document was published
by 'Ação Integralista Brasileira' in August 1937 and
displayed to the public at the headquarters on Rue Sachet).

1938
(Documents Nos. 18 and 19)

LETTER FROM THE NATIONAL LEADER OF 'BRAZILIAN INTEGRALIST ACTION', 'PLINIO SALGADO', TO DR GETÚLIO VARGAS, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC, ON 28 JANUARY 1938

His Excellency Dr Getúlio Vargas
Your Excellency, President of the Republic

Before meeting with Your Excellency again to, in accordance with what was previously agreed, convey to you the definitive response regarding the invitation you kindly extended to me to take up the post of Minister of Education in your government, I have decided, with the utmost loyalty and frankness, to set out in the following lines the aspects of a situation which I consider serious and which can only be resolved if viewed with absolute political realism.

I would not be being entirely sincere and honest if I were to offer your government my personal cooperation, when this would not entail the endorsement, by more than a million Brazilians—whom your indoctrination and propaganda have led to create the climate without which the constitutional transformation of 10 November would not have been possible—of my stance and the aims you pursue.

To understand the grave situation to which I refer, I must, in summary, recall its background, which can be summarised as follows:

I – Integralism from 1932 to 1937;

II – Integralism and the preparatory acts for the Constitution of 10 November;

III – Integralism after 10 November.

I
FROM 1932 TO 1937
How Brazilian Integralism Came About

In 1932, when the disintegration of the nation's spirit was alarming, threatening the unity of the homeland through separatism and its sovereignty through communism; when national traditions had been completely forgotten, with the people not even knowing how to sing the national anthem; when the youth, aged by scepticism and steeped in corrupting literature, I launched the principles of Integralism and began to create the mystique of spiritualist nationalism. I set out to raise the banner of combat against communism and regionalism, against complacency and unbelief. I began my campaign with a small group of men, to whom hundreds of others gradually joined. I won over, at first, the youth of São Paulo who had emerged from the trenches of the 1932 war; I travelled the length and breadth of the country, preaching these new ideas. In a short time, I mobilised a vast mass of Brazilians, from the urban centres to the most remote hinterlands.

I taught them the mystique of the great nation. After five years, I and the apostles who followed me had succeeded in awakening the soul of the Fatherland. The national anthem began to be sung by the crowds. Communism, which had been organised in Brazil since 1927 and which from 1930 onwards had begun to take on great significance, was forced to emerge from its hiding place, where it had been undermining the nation, to fight us, on the orders of the Comintern. The Integralists were threatened and attacked. I myself escaped several assassination attempts. Yet our campaign did not falter. In the public square, facing all manner of dangers, I spoke to the people thousands of times.

We preached the unity of the homeland; Brazil's independence from any and all foreign influence; the veneration of national traditions and symbols; public and private morality and virtue; respect for order; a love of discipline; the glory of self-sacrifice and renunciation; the purest form of Brazilianness; and the prestige of central authority.

The doctrine and its enemies

But, precisely because we preached the prestige of central power, all Your Excellency's enemies rose up against us (precisely those who today enjoy the favour of the new state, whilst the integralists are forbidden to continue their propaganda work), and the weapons used by these enemies of Your Excellency were of the most varied kind. As for our attitude, they believed it was merely a matter of personal support, whereas we were guided by a purely doctrinal orientation. We preached the principle of central power, not Your Excellency's individual prestige. But the state governors and party leaders did not look kindly upon this doctrine, which favoured the polarisation of all national forces—civilian and military—towards the centralisation of authority, an indispensable condition for the country's political unity. They believed this served Your Excellency's personal interests.

Thus, the state governors and leaders of the official parties, their parliamentary groups in the federal congress, and the entire section of the press in the pay of unspeakable interests joined forces with the communists. Tremendous persecutions were unleashed against us by the communists, who were then, as now, linked to the current adherents and defenders of the New State, whose principles they have always opposed. We suffered 33 deaths and over a thousand injuries; thousands of unjust arrests were made; barbaric beatings and unspeakable acts of violence multiplied in the interior of the country. In the press, a sordid campaign of insults and slander raged. To gauge the scale of this struggle, suffice it to say that we obtained from the judiciary more than fifty writs of mandamus and habeas corpus against the violence of which we were victims.

Why am I recalling these things in a document of this nature? To give you an idea of what the integralist MISTICA is, created, nourished and strengthened precisely by the effects of these five years of suffering.

Social and cultural achievements

Continuing their constructive work, the Integralists established more than 4,000 centres for nationalism and doctrinal propaganda during this period; they set up thousands of medical clinics, milk banks, pharmacies, sports grounds, libraries, vocational courses and other charitable services.

They founded over 100 newspapers, including 8 dailies. They founded a cultural magazine. They organised numerous advanced study courses on national and international issues.

The Movement's Mystique

All this was achieved through a sense of profound mystical exaltation. Integralism was organised with a noble religious aspiration. We preached the 'inner revolution', the revolution of the spirit, the transformation of customs. A true asceticism purified the souls of millions of men.

We promised neither jobs nor income, but only sacrifices.

All sacrifices were rewarded with very simple things: the uniform, the symbolic gesture we drew from the Brazilian indigenous people, the greeting—also of indigenous origin—and the

taken from integral calculus and indicative of the Southern Cross, which appears on the Brazilian flag.
The Integralists loved and still love these things dearly. They never sought positions, nor jobs, nor material gain, but have always been attached to these outward signs that remind them of deep feelings and lofty civic duties.
Suffice it to say, Mr President, that no Integralist, at the hour of death, whatever his age, fails to ask to be buried in his green shirt. The indigenous gesture of raising the arm (not the Roman salute, which would be horizontal) and the word 'Anauê' are already part of the very personality of the Integralist. The 'Sigma' reminds him of a whole philosophy and concept of life, a sentiment and a mystique.
It was with these gestures that the Integralists endured all manner of suffering for the good of Brazil, and there is no force in the world that can convince them, at this moment, that they should abandon such practices, for they already equate them with their very honour.

Services Rendered to the Nation

The services rendered to the nation by the Integralists are already woven into the history of Brazil.
They completely eradicated the separatist and regionalist sentiments in the country.
They nationalised and integrated into the national community, through the teaching of the national language and Brazilian traditions, thousands of men and women who had previously been left to the cultural and racist assimilation of other nations.
They penetrated the barracks and the ships and fought there against the sinister infiltration of Bolshevism (this work was extraordinary in the navy)
They organised and ran a voluntary, unpaid secret service to monitor agents of foreign imperialism, and the results of this effort can be attested to by His Excellency the Chief of the Army General Staff, the heads of police, and the commanders of military regions throughout the country.
They taught the national anthem to the people, who now, thanks to the integralist miracle, already sing it. They rescued thousands of young men from debauchery, gambling, brothels, alcoholism and the futilities of a life of complacency, and transformed them into healthy, optimistic, patriotic and athletic, studious and energetic individuals.
They won over the masses and the working class, freeing them from the influence of communist totalitarianism and integrating them into Brazilian society.
They healed the sick, employed the unemployed, assisted poor families, taught literacy and provided education.
They fostered an enthusiastic love for the great figures and glorious dates of our history, turning up where no one else used to, when it came to civic ceremonies.
And what do the Integralists want in return for all this?
One thing only: to continue to serve the nation, using the methods adopted over the past five years which have yielded such magnificent results (as no one is better placed to attest than Your Excellency),

that is, those who are guided by the sacrifice, asceticism and self-denial of their leaders, based on the mysticism that demands outward and disciplined manifestations of the cult of practice.
In conclusion: the green shirt, the gesture, the word, the symbol, are the only reward the Integralists desire, for it is these things that distinguish the mystics of the fatherland from those who exploit the situation.

Power is the least of it; the formation of the national soul is everything!

The Integralists would feel dishonoured if those who fought against the principles of the New State until the night of 9 November were to mingle with them, only to enrich themselves the following morning with the best positions, such as ministers, state governors and senior officials. The only way for the Integralists to preserve their dignity and not destroy the dignity of the homeland, whilst at the same time rendering services to Your Excellency's government, would be to give their full support, even to the point of the utmost sacrifice, to the patriotic aims emanating from Your Excellency. In the supreme interests of Brazil, they must remain the central nucleus of selfless mysticism and political asceticism, unarmed in material terms but armed in spirit, to heed Your Excellency's call. In the nation's most difficult hours, all this, however, must be done whilst fully preserving the outward forms intimately linked to a way of thinking that has already become a feeling after five years of martyrdom and struggle.
What the Integralists wanted was to establish a kind of civic community dedicated to self-sacrifice for the fatherland, devoid of political character – as had always been our desire since 1932 – whilst retaining, however, all the characteristics that are not denied even to football clubs: the outward expressions that embody the concrete realisation of a fellowship of men.
If we took part in the run-up to the presidential elections, I shall explain at length: it was because, being obliged by law to vote, we did not wish to mix with the liberal-democratic parties, and it was for that reason alone that we had a candidate.
I have declared thousands of times over five years of campaigning: my ultimate goal is not power, but the formation of a national consciousness and the beginning of a civilising endeavour on the continent.
Power, for us, has always been viewed as a contingency, never as an aspiration. The conquest of power, for us integralists, has always been subordinate to the imperative of circumstances that would lead us to it, for reasons of public salvation and the dignity of our own purposes. We neither aspire to power, nor would we shy away from its conquest; everything depends on imperative historical circumstances. In the same way, we preached order and respect for authority, but our doctrine of the 'fait accompli' would never go so far as to make us submit to a government that contravened the basic principles of the nationalist and Christian order. Such were the dispositions of the spirit of Integralism when the preparatory acts for the coup of 10 November took place, which I shall recall in Chapter II of this letter.

II

The preparatory acts for the coup of 10 November

Integralism, President Vargas and the Armed Forces

Relations between Integralism and the President of the Republic have always been, by the very nature of the Sigma doctrine, characterised by the former's respect for the latter and the latter's submission to the former. We were the only organised national force; we were one and a half million Brazilians who stood as a bulwark against communism and fought regionalist partisanship; we were the creative inspiration behind strong civic sentiments, and all this coincided with the political line of the President of the Republic.
At times of great collective displays of patriotic fervour, it was the Integralists who carried out the greatest celebrations of the homeland and who acclaimed the established authorities. In times of danger, it was the Integralists—whether civilian or military—who were invariably on alert, sometimes at the government's request.
The influence of Integralism on Brazilian society and the armed forces had reached vast areas and touched the depths of people's hearts. The communists and the state governors felt this keenly. A relentless propaganda campaign was unleashed against the principles that largely underpinned the country's new constitutional structure.

President Vargas ordered a draft constitution to be delivered to me

It was on this occasion that Dr Francisco de Campos sought me out; I met him at Dr Amaro Lanari's house. He spoke to me, claiming to have been authorised by the President of the Republic, and handed me the original of a draft constitution that was to be imposed on the country through a coup d'état. It was September 1937.
Dr Francisco de Campos, always claiming to speak after consulting with Your Excellency, asked for my support for the coup d'état and my opinion on the constitution, giving me 24 hours to reply. He also asked me to maintain the strictest secrecy.
The following day, we met again at Dr Amaro Lanari's house, where I stated: 1) – that, 'in principle', I could not be opposed to the corporative state, the suppression of fruitless party strife, and the replacement of all political parties (with no exception for governors, as was promised) with new values, based on the doctrines of the New State and public dignity, given the use of men who were diametrically opposed to most of the ideas embodied in that constitution, which had been discredited in the eyes of history not only for our purposes but for Brazil itself, due to a general lack of conviction and character; 2) – that I did not consider it necessary to enact a new constitution, but deemed sufficient certain reforms to the 1934 constitution, replacing universal suffrage with corporate voting and granting the state greater scope regarding powers to intervene in the country's economic and financial rhythm and concerning the strengthening of central power; 3) – that, since I was unable to dissuade the government from its intention to grant the constitution and since the government felt, through the army and the

navy, integralism had not created difficulties, not least because it lacked the means to oppose it, and in that case, I would trust in the patriotism of the President of the Republic, whose nationalist aims I did not doubt.

The President wants my opinion and insists on it

I asked what the position of the 'Brazilian Integralist Action' would be in the new order, to which Dr Francisco de Campos replied that it would form THE FOUNDATION OF THE NEW STATE, adding that, naturally, INTEGRALISM would have to expand its ranks to welcome all Brazilians who wished to cooperate in creating a broad movement of support for the objectives of the head of the nation. I replied that once national unity had been organised, Integralism would cease to be a party; its members would form the nucleus, the beginning of the formation of that movement, but for this to happen, Integralism needed to continue as an educational and cultural association, as the true civic community it was, made up of unambitious men, men willing to make every sacrifice, without aspiring to rewards. Dr Campos agreed wholeheartedly. He then asked me to spend a further eight days on the draft constitution so that I might present him with my opinion. He insisted that the whole matter was an absolute secret.

I declared myself a democrat and anti-totalitarian

Eight days later, we met again. I presented him with the 'manifesto-programme' that I had published in January 1936 as my opinion. I refrained from proposing any amendments. I told him, then, that I believed more in men than in constitutions and that if the President of the Republic was sincerely committed to achieving great things, all constructive work would come in subsequent laws. I felt that the draft constitution
, as it stood, it did not fully embody the integralist doctrine in its true sense, for, deep down, we integralists are democrats; however, faithful to our ethics from which we never strayed, we would accept the 'fait accompli' just as we had, until then, accepted the liberal-democratic authorities, cooperating in every way possible with a government seriously committed to promoting the greatness and happiness of the Brazilian people. We would regard the constitution being enacted as an initial stage until organic democracy was achieved, as we had dreamed of it, which bears no resemblance to fascist or Nazi-type regimes. Now, as the constitution promised us the corporate organisation of the country and the possibility of laws that would certainly, over time, readjust the institutions to our integralist ideals, we would not hesitate to support the 'fait accompli', provided the government promised that we integralists would be treated with every respect and allowed to continue our apostolic mission.

President Vargas has expressed a desire to speak to me

that I should meet the Minister of War

Dr Francisco de Campos, thoroughly satisfied, declared with a smile to Dr Amaro Lanari that he had not known I was so liberal... The fact is that he had certainly not read the fundamental works in which I set out my ideas regarding the State, which are entirely Brazilian and bear no resemblance whatsoever to any form of dictatorship. For my part, as I am familiar with Mr Francisco de Campos's fascist ideas, I imagined myself closer to the President's thinking than he himself. A cordial atmosphere had already been established between myself and Dr Campos. He informed him of a document that the Army General Staff had seized and which would create a favourable climate for the coup, for in the light of such a document the communist threat appeared so grave that a 'state of war' would become necessary. Dr Campos conveyed to me the President of the Republic's wish that I should meet with General Eurico Gaspar Dutra, the Minister of War. I recall that I was reluctant and that he insisted. He also informed me that the President would speak to me. In fact, I had already been made aware of Your Excellency's wish through Mr Renato Rocha Miranda, with whom Your Excellency had spoken in Petrópolis.

Meeting with the Minister of War, General Dutra

A few days later, when the famous document from the General Staff was read out on the radio, the military ministers petitioned for a 'state of war'. On that occasion, Captain Felinto Muller, Chief of Police in Rio, came to my house with Dr Raimundo Barbosa Lima and asked me to accompany him to the Minister of War, loyally declaring that I would bear witness to the fact that the initiative for the meeting had come from him.
Whilst driving with me, before we reached the minister's residence, the Chief of Police explained to me the gravity of the situation in the country with regard to communism and asked me to offer words of encouragement to General Dutra, who was somewhat disheartened by the fear that a 'state of war' might not be declared. This simple fear on the part of the general, who had distinguished himself so greatly in the fight against communism, convinced me that Brazil was indeed in danger, and it was with great warmth that I assured General Dutra that we Integralists, both civilian and military, stood by his side in the defence of our homeland. I was moved in the presence of the Minister of War: the figure of that simple and brave general, who smiled at me so warmly, gave me the certainty that the Integralists would never fail to count, when threatened, on the esteemed word of the man who at that moment received my loyal assurances with such heartfelt expressions. I left there convinced that I had nothing to fear in the future. My work had been selfless and patriotic; we Integralists had only spread goodness; we had always been sincere, and the Minister of War understood us. He dispelled any fears I had of the government persecuting Integralism. He praised the Integralist officers. He expressed his gratitude for the support that the civilian ranks of the Green Shirts gave to any measures for the public good. The following day, Captain Felinto Muller and I

were discussing the matter of the coup d'état, and, just as Dr Campos had assured me, Integralism had nothing to fear.

My pact with General Newton Cavalcanti

To be frank, I harboured certain apprehensions. I had not spoken to the President of the Republic and had always been suspicious of such political intrigues. Something told me that the politicians had gone along with the situation that had arisen and that the end of Integralism had been decreed. I expressed this concern to General Newton Cavalcanti.
My connection with General Newton went back a long way, stemming from our shared ideas and sentiments regarding the salvation of Brazil from the clutches of communism, international capitalism and secret societies. When he commanded the military region in Recife, General Newton became acquainted with the anti-communist organisation and the noble patriotism of the Integralists. Here in Rio, my relations with General Newton developed into a sincere friendship and mutual trust. Many times, at the Military Village, I stayed talking with him until late into the night about the supreme interests of our homeland. He knew all my sufferings and all my lack of personal interest. One day we sealed a pact: I would have no secrets from him; he would be the advocate of Integralism and the champion of all the guarantees we needed.
Amidst my troubles, I sought comfort in the words of this good man, this general who sacrificed himself, as one of the enforcers of the 'state of war', to the hatred of treacherous hidden forces. General Newton Cavalcanti's trust in the President of the Republic and the Minister of War was boundless. It was he who greatly encouraged me to meet with Your Excellency.

I met secretly with President Vargas

Finally, the day arrived when Dr Renato da Rocha Miranda came on Your Excellency's behalf to arrange the meeting with which you were honoured, at the residence of that mutual friend. It was evening. You asked me, at the outset, whether I believed that elections would solve Brazil's political problem. I replied to you that, according to our doctrine, we were opposed to universal suffrage, but that we would go to the polls since the constitution did not provide for any other course of action.
You asked me what my opinion was of the two candidates. I replied that my opinion was clear from the simple fact that we had a candidate of our own.
Then Your Excellency reminded me that Mr José Américo was highly likely to be elected and that Integralism would be left in a very poor position and prevented from carrying out its propaganda under that candidate's government. I replied that perhaps this would be a blessing for Integralism, because whilst we had behaved peacefully in the face of all the state persecution we had suffered, we had done so because we knew that the President of the Republic was not our enemy. That persecution had been very useful for our growth, despite our being merely provincial. On the day we faced federal persecution, our

growth would be astonishing, for it is in the very nature of our movement to grow through the mystique of martyrdom. Consequently, I did not fear persecution on a grand scale.
You considered at that point that there might still be another solution. And, as I wished to know what that solution might be, you asked me if I had been to see Dr Francisco de Campos.
I replied that I did. Upon which Your Excellency asked if I was familiar with the constitution. I confirmed that I was. Your Excellency wished to know my opinion of it. I replied exactly as I had told Dr Campos, but Your Excellency declared to me that the adoption of that document was indispensable. I remember well that I spoke with enthusiasm, highlighting what integralism represented as a national force. I referred to the great mystique and recounted brief episodes. Together we recalled the magnificent moments of Sigma's patriotic demonstrations. You praised my work. You told me that since 1931 I had been helping you in the nationalist, anti-communist, anti-regionalist campaign, even though we had never met in person. I lamented that the more I devoted myself, body and soul, to the nationalist cause, the more I found myself compelled to distance myself from those in power, in order to instil in those who accompanied me a spirit of absolute selflessness and the most complete self-sacrifice.
We then went on to discuss politicians and the struggles you have undertaken to counter them. And as I told you that I did not believe in politicians, that their adherence to a new order could only bring difficulties, you assured me that they would be removed because you needed new people, with a new mindset. I expressed to Your Excellency my absolute disbelief in the state governors, who all held views opposed to a new order, and Your Excellency reassured me by saying that they would be gradually replaced. Regarding Integralism, Your Excellency spoke to me about the organisation of our militia. Those words filled me with confidence. I even believed that this great youth organisation would be directly sponsored by the Minister of Education, since Your Excellency told me that this ministry would be responsible for Integralism.
We never failed to use the word 'integralism' explicitly in that lecture. Far was I from imagining that this word, along with all its derivatives—including the name given to the men who belong to the great national movement—would be condemned. I had the impression that a National Union would be formed, with integralism at its core; that, furthermore, there would be a vast youth organisation from which the cherished symbols, gestures and salutes that constitute the very joy of the integralists would in no way be stripped away. Under these circumstances, I was reassured by what I had heard from Your Excellency.

The White Coup of 10 November 1937

The days passed. On 1 November, I had 50,000 men march, clad in green shirts, on behalf of one and a half million comrades scattered throughout Brazil. It was a force that lay in Your Excellency's hands. My lack of interest was absolute, as was evident from the speech I delivered that evening on Radio Mayrink Veiga. That speech is a testament to

, of complete self-sacrifice, of blunt frankness, of a doctrinal clarity that admits of no doubt. I was already aware of the support of the state governors, human relics of a dead past, devoid of any political, material or moral significance for a new situation.
I stated in that speech that, although I did not trust such last-minute adherents, Integralism would possess sufficient patriotism not only to avoid hindering the objectives of the Army and the Navy, but also to collaborate with the President of the Republic in establishing a new order. For I was also certain that Integralism would not be confused with political parties, which have exclusively partisan aims and an exclusively regional scope. I never imagined that the sole national party – which we had spent five years building and which was the only one capable of channelling the spirit necessary for the construction of a new order – would be regarded as being on the same level as those petty, self-serving and narrow-minded parties, which were, moreover, enemies of corporatism and the strengthening of central power.
The first sign that we were not being treated fairly came on the night of 9 November. Minister Francisco de Campos did not warn me that the coup would take place the following morning. The Chief of Police, Captain Felinto Muller, whom I telephoned at 1 am on 10 November, perhaps judging, from the way I expressed myself, that I had received the information from a reliable source.
The second sign was a display of childish naivety: at 11 o'clock in the morning, Minister Campos asked me to come to his office. I went, certain that it was a matter of importance, given the background of the interviews I had had with him and with Your Excellency, and I was taken completely by surprise when the minister told me that he had called me to ask me to report in 'O Povo' that the coup had gone off without a hitch.
It should be noted that 'O Povo' has no official connection with me, nor does Integralism.

III

Integralism after 10 November Deceived,

but true to our word

The biggest surprise of all that I experienced on 10 November was Your Excellency's speech. That evening, I became completely convinced that we had been deceived from the very first day. There was not a single word of kindness for Integralism or for the Integralists. Yet it was a movement and men who had done everything for the nation and who had always been loyal to Your Excellency, even in the most difficult times. Across the country, listening to the radio, one and a half million Brazilians viewed this fact with bitterness.
True to my word, I hastened to extinguish the political aspect of the Brazilian Integralist Action. The only national party, the only one in harmony with the proclaimed corporatism of the New State, was paradoxically the only one that was

spontaneously declaring itself defunct, to continue only as a cultural, sporting and charitable society. This was before any law, before any decree...
Integralism would continue, in this form, as those in charge of the situation had promised, providing the services that only it had hitherto provided to the country.
I did not realise, however, that what was being plotted against Integralism was so vast. Soon the newspapers, under official censorship, began to attack me and ridicule the Integralist movement. Some newspaper editors informed me that they were receiving direct orders from the authorities to open fire on us.

Praise that does not honour and a campaign that did not dignify

In all the city's political circles, the only talk then was of the 'knockdown' you had dealt us; the 'new pirarucu' that Your Excellency had caught; the trap that Your Excellency had set for Integralism, as if such feats attributed to a man whom all Brazilians ought to regard as honourable, and to whom they should pay every respect, did not wound Your Excellency more than they did Integralism.
There was even a talk attended by someone the diners did not know to be an Integralist, in which one of the directors of a company—for which the Minister of Justice had been a lawyer—stated that I had been summoned by Dr Campos, who had ordered me (as early as 10 November) to shut down Integralism immediately. That conversation made it quite clear to me what was behind my summons on the morning of the 10th, which had been suddenly turned into a request for a news item in 'O Povo'.
Press censorship began issuing orders that seemed more like those of Your Excellency's enemies. It prohibited the publication of my name too frequently or in a font size exceeding the specified limit; it prohibited literary praise of books I had authored; it prohibited any mention that I had founded Integralism or that I had conducted a nationalist campaign; it prohibited the use of the words Integralism, Integralist, integral, etc.
From the very first day of the coup, we were treated as enemies.
I do not wish to tell Your Excellency what happened in the States even before our official detention. My portraits were destroyed by henchmen, my comrades arrested and beaten, and Dr Campos received numerous telegrams detailing the most unspeakable acts of violence across the country, where governors, angered by the new regime to which they had adhered for personal gain, took their revenge on the Integralists, who were branded as Your Excellency's supporters.

Fascism versus Integralism

Thus we spent our days in anguish until 19 November. I had heard that on that day legions would be deployed, just like those khaki-clad ones from past fascist attempts.

But, for some reason—perhaps due to the heavy rain—we were not crushed and replaced by government fascism on that day. On the 20th, General Gois Monteiro asked me to come to his residence. There, he made a vehement appeal to me not to shut down Integralism, even telling me that such a measure would be disastrous for Brazil. He told me that Integralism had already fulfilled a great mission and now had to fulfil another. This latter mission was to maintain a sacred mystique where everything was self-interest and hypocrisy. He praised Your Excellency's intentions but lamented that the politicians were spoiling everything. He said that Brazil's destiny depended greatly on Integralism. He then insisted that I speak immediately to the Minister of Justice, Dr Campos, and, going to the telephone, arranged the meeting.
This was precisely at the time when Your Excellency was arranging the interview you intended to have with me, which was to take place this time in Petrópolis.

A promise that was not kept; Generals Gois Monteiro and Newton Cavalcanti are distressed

Dr Francisco de Campos told me right at the start of the conversation that my personal collaboration in Your Excellency's government depended, first and foremost, on the dissolution of Integralism, for in the New State there would be only the government party. I replied that I had already dissolved the political party, but that, as agreed, the civil society organisation 'Ação Integralista Brasileira', with cultural and educational aims, would remain open.
At this point in my letter, I recall, Mr President, that on the morning of 10 November, when I was summoned by the Minister of Justice, Dr Campos, to receive a press release, I asked him as I was taking my leave, already standing, whether any provision had been included in the new constitution ensuring the continued existence of 'Ação Integralista Brasileira' as a civil society organisation, to which he promptly replied in the affirmative.
Now, I appealed to the Minister to confirm this, to which he replied that it was Your Excellency's demand that we be shut down.
I then told Minister Campos that if the dissolution of the Brazilian Integralist Movement—as a civil society organisation, and not merely as a political party—was inevitable, then it should come from the government itself, for such a decision never originated with me, as my dignity would not allow it. It was this view that he conveyed to Your Excellency.
Shaken by such unforeseen events, I felt it was my duty to inform General Gois Monteiro—who had urged me not to abandon Integralism—and General Newton Cavalcanti, who had promised to act as the Integralists' advocate. General Gois Monteiro, recalling the services that Integralism had rendered to the army and setting out with great insight his critique of the country's situation, promised to speak to the President of the Republic, demonstrating to Your Excellency the extreme gravity that the closure of the Sigma at that time represented for the army and the country. As for General Newton Cavalcanti, he was so deeply shocked by the

news, which contradicted what Your Excellency had assured him, that, already at night, in the midst of a heavy storm, he left the military village for the city, in order to speak with the Minister of War, asking him to address Your Excellency.

Minister Campos is offering me money

The following day, I met again with Minister Francisco de Campos, who had already spoken with Your Excellency and who informed me of Your Excellency's decision to issue a decree banning all political parties, including Integralism, which would be unable to operate, even as a civil society organisation, without the characteristics of a political party. I then protested vehemently against this, telling Dr Campos that such a measure would leave us in an extremely difficult situation, as the Brazilian Integralist Action had civil and commercial relationships, with liabilities to third parties; it had debts, including loans from Sigma amounting to thousands of contos; it ran medical clinics, nurseries, schools, libraries, newspapers and magazines. It would be a calamity and we did not deserve this, as we had committed no crime to be treated in this manner. The Minister of Justice replied that the government could cover these financial losses because they had been expenses incurred on charitable works. I replied that the dignity of Integralism did not allow us to accept the offer, as we would give the impression of having traded our support for the government. Concluding the conversation, the minister told me he would look into the matter.

The President met with me at the usual place

It was afterwards that I met with Your Excellency again, at the home of Dr Renato da Rocha Miranda. After discussing various matters, Your Excellency informed me that he would issue a decree dissolving all political parties, and I had to agree with this measure, as it was required by the constitution of the Estado Novo. I then told His Excellency that the Brazilian Integralist Action would no longer be affected by the decree, because it would cease to be a party as of 11 November, and that it should simply continue as a cultural, educational, sporting and charitable society. In response, Your Excellency clarified to me that the decree closing the parties would include a new article prohibiting uniforms, badges and gestures. You explained to me that the civil societies—of a cultural, sporting, educational and charitable nature—into which the parties might be transformed, would have to change their names.
Having deigned to convey this information to me, Your Excellency reiterated the invitation you had previously extended to me to take up the post of Minister of Education in your government.
I sought to explain to Your Excellency how the ban on the 'chofre', on the gestures, uniforms and insignia of the Integralists, would deeply hurt the masses of over a million Brazilians who supported me. I reminded Your Excellency that our enemies were precisely those who hated us because they saw us as the pillars of central power and that now, these men, having hypocritically joined the New State yet not truly accepting, deep down,

with the situation, would take their revenge on the Integralists, since they lacked the courage to fight the President of the Republic. I spoke to you of the great oppression the Integralists were already suffering in the provinces even before the closure of the Sigma, and of how much they would suffer at the hands of cowardly authorities who would run amok when the municipal councils were shut down.
I asked Your Excellency, in the name of the services we have rendered in the fight against Bolshevism, in upholding the authority of the President of the Republic, and in combating separatist regionalism, and in the name of the martyrs we have already lost, that the Brazilian Integralist Action, although dissolved as a political party, might continue to exist as a civil society, without, therefore, it being necessary to close the national, state and municipal headquarters, which would cause turmoil and atrocities throughout the territory of the Republic.
In response to this appeal, Your Excellency agreed to speak with the Minister of Justice, so that he might agree with me on the instructions I deemed necessary, in order to avoid further trouble for the Integralists.
In view of this, to demonstrate to Your Excellency my goodwill and to put aside all the troubles of recent days, I promised that, as soon as the decree closing down the political parties was issued—and provided that, from its wording, the Integralists could see that they might continue their patriotic work—I would gather together the most prominent figures of the Integralist movement and consult them regarding the invitation extended to me to serve as Your Excellency's Minister.

General Newton Cavalcanti, Guarantor of another's word, resigns

In the days that followed, as far as I can tell, Generals Gois Monteiro and Newton Cavalcanti took some steps with the Ministry of War, following on from the measures they had been taking previously, with a view to obtaining from Your Excellency a guarantee that Integralism would not be shut down as a civil society. This is my assumption because General Gois Monteiro was kind enough to visit me at my home to inform me that he had exhausted all arguments in our favour, yet had been unable to prevent our closure. As for General Newton Cavalcanti, I was aware (as was the entire population of Rio de Janeiro) of a long letter he had addressed to the Minister of War, requesting his resignation from command of the military village, as he did not agree with the measure affecting us, contrary to the assurance he had been given. Shortly afterwards, the decree was issued, and I was not heard by the Minister of Justice, as had been agreed with Your Excellency

The persecution of the Integralists begins

What has happened in the country cannot be put into words, Mr President.
The most egregious abuses and acts of violence were committed. Hundreds of party headquarters were vandalised. My portrait was dragged through the streets and burned. Numerous arrests were made. Men and

women were brutally beaten. Private homes were broken into and ransacked. There was even a case (in Paraná) of a fire at the home of a doctor, a municipal Integralist leader, whilst he was in prison. The reports you have received are depressing for state officials. It was the repressed hatred of Your Excellency's own enemies (separatists or communists) taking their revenge on those who preached the unity of the nation, the prestige of central power, and the corporatist doctrines now, in a certain sense, adopted by the Estado Novo. The magazine 'Anauê', which was published in this capital, was banned, and there were threats to close down our newspapers. In several states, books by Integralist authors were seized from bookshops. In the state of Rio, they even went so far as to confiscate books I had written that had nothing to do with Integralism: novels, essays, literature in general, causing financial losses to my publishers and to me personally. A wave of hatred swept violently across the country, accompanied by terrible threats, humiliations of every kind and indescribable brutality.

Fatal consequences

I find myself today, Mr President, in the most painful of situations to which a man of integrity , through his patriotism, his lack of ambition, his loyalty and his dignity, could be led.
The authorities are demanding two things of me that are mutually exclusive, two things that are impossible.
1) That I no longer consider myself the 'National Leader' of the Integralists

2) That I give them orders, that I be obeyed, and that I be held accountable for them all.

The authorities also demand another absurdity from the Integralist movement, by imposing contradictory demands;

1)– that they put an end once and for all to the 'mystique', that is, to the uniform, the symbols, the salute, the badges, the name 'Integralist' and the word 'Integralism', and respect for the leader's orders, because the government does not want there to be any more leaders for the Integralists themselves.

2)– that this mass, devoid of mystique, character, discipline and leadership, should act in a uniform manner and be collectively accountable for the isolated actions of any of its members.
My attempt to organise a society (the Brazilian Cultural Association) has met with failure at the Ministry of Justice, where the paperwork has been dragging on for two months.
Many integralists, incidentally, do not accept other labels and do not wish to relinquish the outward trappings of their civic cult. Others, facing terrible persecution, are driven to despair. Others, outraged by the campaign in the left-wing newspapers (at the height

the period of censorship) against Integralism, are breaking away from the disciplinary structures of the old movement, aligning themselves with liberal politicians because they do not believe in the government's sincerity. Several comrades have died as a result of police brutality. Faced with all this, what should I do?

Around five thousand Integralists visited my home in successive groups over Christmas and New Year. I spoke to them and offered my advice. But Rio has tens of thousands of Integralists, and Brazil hundreds of thousands – what are they doing? The letters I receive reveal a strangely tense mood.

Commander Américo Pimentel, of Your Excellency's military staff, who came to offer his regards on Your Excellency's behalf during those festive days, has on several occasions witnessed my efforts to restore peace. Ask Your Excellency, for example, people who are worthy of your trust, such as Dr Renato Rocha Miranda, Dr Amaro Lanari, Dr Belisário Pena, General Vieira da Rosa, Dr Rocha Vaz, Dr Gustavo Barroso, regarding my actions since the end of Integralism: calming the agitated, identifying groups that are causing trouble or losing their composure, and bringing them to heel to prevent them from committing acts of folly. Integralism, with the floodgates of the hierarchy now burst, through which my word used to reach, from leader to leader, is today a boiling cauldron that may become uncontrollable. Among the things that most embitter this mass, it is worth noting the absence, these days, of even the slightest word from the government, which owes so much to Integralism and which has always recognised in Integralism a movement that sacrificed everything for the greatness of the fatherland, without asking for anything in return. The integralist community has received nothing but harsh treatment, ridicule, sarcasm and unjustified persecution, not only from certain sections of the press but even from some of the country's highest authorities. And what crime has integralism committed?

The arguments used against us are the most absurd , and laughable. It is claimed that

We should be pleased that our ideas are prevailing, and that, even so, any expression of discontent can only betray personal ambition. But at the same time, the police authorities ban the word 'integralism', forbid our newspapers from referring to the work carried out by our movement in the country, and allow the most vicious attacks to be levelled against us in certain sections of the press which, until recently, were openly Bolshevik; and, in every corner of the country, the authorities, distorting reality, call us 'right-wing extremists' and the New State a 'defender of democracy'!...

I n political circles and in certain government spheres, we have been mistreated ever since 10 November.

And when all means to drive us to despair had been exhausted, they began to concoct the most ridiculous conspiracies, which were attributed to us, followed by the most unjust arrests. Police abuses in humble homes are frequent and cruel, with beatings and torture occurring repeatedly. Numerous families have been deprived of their breadwinners. An atmosphere of animosity and mistrust has been created, within which the aim is to stifle the Integralists.

This is the situation that must be faced with the utmost realism and the highest patriotism by all of us.

Conclusion

For my part, in the best interests of Brazil, I am always willing to seek out salvific and dignified solutions. It is in this spirit that I address Your Excellency prior to a new personal meeting, through this letter which constitutes a document I bequeath to the history of Brazil, demonstrating the loftiness of vision, the lack of personal interest, the conciliatory patriotism and the strong dignity with which I have conducted myself during these days, which I consider the saddest of my entire life dedicated to the service of my country.
I have spoken in these lines, frankly, confidently, and without any mental reservation to Your Excellency, as a good Brazilian ought to speak to the leader of his nation. I believe that this matter of Integralism must be placed on the exclusive ground of trust and loyalty. That is what I do. And you, now aware of the reason why I have not yet accepted your invitation to become your minister, will be able to conclude in which sector of the government and in what manner we could work with dignity for the greatness of Brazil.

(a) Plínio Salgado.

Rio de Janeiro, 28 January 1938.

MAY 1938 REVOLT

To put an end once and for all to this business of calling the rebellion of 11 May 1938 the 'Integralist Revolt', we have transcribed below two documents which, although produced in 1945, fit perfectly into this chapter, which focuses on the aforementioned year of 1938.
This is an interview with Professor Miguel Reale given to 'Diários Associados', followed by a separate interview with General Castro Junior, in which they fully confirmed the true nature of that uprising and declared themselves its leaders.

The Interview with Miguel Reale

Professor Miguel Reale said:
"... a deep rift had formed between the government – poorly served by certain ambitious elements intent on sowing division – and the Integralist Party, whose dissolution was ultimately decreed. With both Integralists and Liberals outlawed, all opponents of the regime felt the need to join forces to restore common freedoms
Were there, then, agreements in 1938 between the Integralists and elements of the opposition?
There were, and no one can dispute that. I did not wish to reveal such matters, but the statements made by certain politicians and military figures regarding Integralism compel me to tell the nation the truth. The Brazilian people must be well informed in order to form sound judgements. Will those who conspired with the

Integralists in the darkest hours, seeking conditions for mutual support? On reflection, who can cast the first stone?
I would have expected at least some silence from certain men now, rather than accusations, just as they managed to remain silent whilst the matter was being investigated.
'Professor Miguel Reale,' the journalist interjected, 'the public has every interest in being informed about certain details of your extraordinary revelations. To what extent did the agreements reach, in 1938, between the Integralists and the political opponents of the 10 November regime?'
"I cannot generalise," remarked our interviewee. "I cannot refer, in a generic manner, to the 'opposition politicians'. That would go beyond what the facts I know allow me to say. How can I guarantee that all the opposition leaders were aware of the understandings, from February to May 1938, between Plínio Salgado and Mr Otávio Mangabeira? Colonel Euclides Figueiredo, Generals Castro Junior, Guedes da Fontoura and others? How can I be certain that all the leaders of the São Paulo opposition were aware of the steps taken with a certain distinguished democratic approach?
'These understandings were based on certain shared viewpoints,' the reporter interjected.
It is clear that, from the outset, we agreed it was necessary to reinstate the 1934 Constitution, with the formation of a provisional military governing junta tasked with overseeing the elections. One coup was to be countered by another...
There was, however, no compromise on the part of either side regarding principles. Each group held fast to its convictions, committing itself, once the existence of the parties was guaranteed, to entrusting the ballot box with the decision of our destiny. I wish to make it quite clear that this point is well understood, for it would be unfair if I were to suggest concessions in matters of doctrine.
The immediate objective we had in mind,' continued Professor Reale slowly, 'was, as I have already explained, the restoration of the 1934 Constitution, ensuring full freedom for the parties to carry out their peaceful activities.
To this end, the victorious movement was to entrust the government to a military junta, which would be chaired by General Castro Junior, then in charge of military supplies. This distinguished military man, of well-known liberal convictions, was, after May, if my memory serves me correctly
, compulsorily retired, although no sentence had been imposed on him by the special court.
As you can see, the common objectives could not have been clearer at the time I left Rio de Janeiro in mid-March 1938.

General Castro Junior's confirmation

To the representative of the same 'associated newspapers', General Castro Júnior declared the following day: 'Is Mr Miguel Reale's assertion substantially true, that the objective of the May movement was a return to constitutional rule, under the leadership of a military junta, which, due to the withdrawal of comrades certainly better suited to the role, would be presided over by me?'

And the general continued, after listening to the reading of some excerpts from the interview given to *Meridional* in São Paulo by Professor Miguel Reale, a former proponent of Integralism:

It was an extreme nationalist movement with partisan aims, which exploited the support of Integralism—at the time fiercely persecuted, as were other currents of opinion—to lead the nation to the neutral ground of democracy, where everyone could come to an understanding, in accordance with our centuries-old traditions. What gave the May 'putsch' an integralist character was the rashness of the more radical wing of that movement in Rio, probably on the assumption that it already had sufficient strength to expel from the Catete the intruder who still remains there today. The action was so unexpected that not even the Integralists of São Paulo and other constituencies had time to make their voices heard. Later, I learnt from Mr Plínio Salgado himself that he had sent a thoroughly trustworthy emissary to prevent the movement from breaking out without my consent."

1939
(Documents Nos. 20, 21, 22 and 23)

May Manifesto

(15 May 1939)

How should we work? By adhering to your, our
doctrine. What does this doctrine consist of?
In being a good father, a good son, a good husband, a good professional
, a good citizen, a good patriot. How?
By adhering to the Christian precepts of Life, that is , by closing
your eyes and ears to all the seductions of that utilitarian,
opportunistic and hedonistic materialism , which dissolves
peoples debased by the absence of God

Integralists!

A year ago, I addressed you(*) at a time of unease, which involved distressing apprehensions, fully justified a few days later. On that occasion, I clearly set out for you the guidance consistent with the tenets of the spiritualist and nationalist doctrine you have espoused.
Today, twelve months having passed in silence—a silence I imposed upon myself so that my words might not be interpreted as a personal defence—I once again address all those who, over the course of six years, have studied, understood and accepted the ideas I expounded throughout the country, inspired by the hope of erecting a barrier of enlightened will against the Bolshevik threat and the anarchy of the spirit.
I taught you faith in God, love of the homeland, the ideal of national unity, the practice of Christian virtues; the veneration of Brazilian heroes and the nation's military exploits, personal self-sacrifice, and the constant endeavour to bequeath to posterity a Brazil greater than the one we inherited from our forebears.
This is what I have taught you; and therefore, considering all this which, in short, constitutes the essence of your and my thinking, I deem it appropriate to guide all those who share these ideas with me. I do so by recommending to you, at this present time, that you refrain from any subversive agitation and from political demonstrations that disturb public order.
The bleak state of the world demands that all Brazilians unite on the common ground of love for their country. Brazil is worth every personal sacrifice, however great it may be. For its sake we rose up against the threats of separatism and communism; for its sake we risked our lives for six years against the agents of Moscow; for its sake we went to every public square in the country to preach the spiritualist and nationalist idea, the principles of Christ applied to the moral fabric of this great nation; for its sake we spent six years on watch; for its sake we endured all the insults and slanders of the red and liberal-democratic press, as well as all the persecutions of professional politicians, tireless in their manoeuvres and unrepentant in their selfishness; for its sake we endured all the misunderstandings; for its sake

we have known all manner of martyrdom. And now, as the world is threatened by dark catastrophes, the consequences of which may be felt most severely by nations lacking unity, mystique, and cohesion of spirit, I ask you whether, in all conscience, we can disrupt internal order, creating obstacles to national unity centred on the supreme interests of our common homeland?

If, at this moment, we stir up unrest, we run the risk of being accused, in the future, of being responsible for the disunity of Brazilians, or of being obstacles to those who, above all, wish to ground the maintenance of our international prestige and national sovereignty in the spiritual unity of the Fatherland.

The lesson that Europe offers us at this moment is clear enough for Brazilians of good will.

We see, on that continent, the successive diplomatic defeats of peoples divided internally and lacking any mystical fervour for national aspirations, whilst the united, cohesive peoples, inspired by a single dream and kept in a constant state of enthusiasm by thousands of propagandists of patriotism acting as evangelists, are redrawing the map of nations with the tips of their bayonets(*)

Do we wish these peoples, strengthened by political unity, to view us as a people weakened by dissension, easy prey to their appetites, a melancholic human disposition at the mercy of all historical circumstances?(*) And do we wish that, tomorrow, they should accuse us, the integralists, of being responsible, even if only in part, for creating an atmosphere hostile to the initiative of national unity, without which Brazil will never constitute a perfect unity capable of facing the difficulties of the contemporary world? History must one day record that, at this moment, we knew how to look, above all else, to the nation, whose greatest problems concern the imperatives of national defence.

Do not think that these words of mine contain any hint of vulgar conformity, or of deviating, even by a single millimetre, from the line of dignity that I have imposed upon myself and laid out for you. Neither I nor you are motivated by the petty interest of comfortable and tranquil positions, much less by the indecent gesture of opportunists, holding out a hand to ask for whatever it may be in exchange for acts of conscience. Far be it from us to adopt the attitude of the weary and defeated, allowing the smoke of base ambitions to cloud the gaze in which the spark of patriotism has always shone. We have never been tempted by the prospect of sharing or compensation, for our patriotism is priceless.

What these words, therefore, mean is simply a perfect understanding of the international situation, which demands a truce in internal struggles.

What guidance, then, do I recommend to you? The guidance of peace, of order, of abstaining from any unrest.

Beyond this principle, I also recommend to you: to work for Brazil. How to work? By adhering to your, our, doctrine. What does this doctrine consist of? In being a good father, a good son, a good husband, a good professional, a good citizen, a good patriot. How? By adhering to the Christian precepts of life, that is, by closing your eyes and ears to all the temptations of that utilitarian, opportunistic and hedonistic materialism which dissolves peoples debased by the absence of God.

Shape the conscience of future generations within the home, convinced that morality is the foundation of a people's greatness. Instil in your children the deepest sense of honour, so that they may grow up aspiring to be men of integrity, whether in private life, social life, or public life; draw inspiration from the veneration of national heroes.
Fulfill your civic duties, proudly expressing your love for the Fatherland. Study and teach our past, for only the past, by shaping an awareness of our origins, bestows nobility upon peoples. Remain alive and active, peaceful and hard-working, orderly and vigilant, calm and alert, so that you may give everything to Brazil when it calls upon you.
Give everything to Brazil. Follow these teachings and you shall deserve respect, for only the brutish will see, in the practice of these virtues, grounds for resentment against you.
These are my words to a million Brazilians whom I have taught and educated with great dedication for six years. I speak them selflessly and with the utmost solemnity, for I speak from beyond the political life of the Nation, reaffirming my intentions—so often repeated—that I desire nothing from Brazil save that it be great and respected.
The current international situation is of a gravity unprecedented in the last hundred years of world history.
In the face of this and the dangers threatening our homeland, I shall say, lest I one day be accused of having contributed to the subversion of order and divisions within the country: 'Unite, Brazilians, respecting the established authorities and in no way disturbing public order(*)'
And if, despite this, my words and your actions are not understood at present, we shall be left with the certainty that, ever faithful to the highest ideals of patriotism, posterity will know how to judge us in the pages of history.

LETTER FROM PLÍNIO SALGADO TO THE MINISTER OF WAR IN MAY 1939

His Excellency General Eurico Gaspar Dutra
His Excellency the Minister of War

At a time when, in response to the demands of the government authorities, I must temporarily leave Brazil, I am saddened by the thought that I am leaving behind, scattered throughout the territory of our homeland, a million Brazilians, to whom I addressed, just a few days ago
, a manifesto urging them to respect order and to refrain from any disturbances that might disrupt the national tranquillity, which is so necessary and so desired by the armed forces.(*)
For this call for peace to bear fruit, it must be accompanied by paternal guidance for the community, instructing them in this salutary principle and shielding them against insidious plots and deceit, given that communist manoeuvres and the schemes of men

who have neither scruples nor patriotism, who exploit everything, seeking to create confusion from which they derive unseemly advantage.

One such manoeuvre has consisted of creating incompatibility between Integralism and the Army, through a cunning web of intrigues that spark in subversive bulletins, in secret whispers, in underground provocations and, above all, in the odious distortion of the doctrine I have preached and in the poisoning of the pure and disinterested intentions I have always upheld.

The Bolshevik infiltration into all sectors of the country's intellectual life and its stealthy penetration into seemingly unsuspecting ranks of the very organic defence of Brazilian society facilitate this subtle work, which targets not so much the Integralists as the atmosphere of respect and exaltation for the Army that they have always strived to create as a fundamental condition for the nation's prestige.

I wish, therefore, at this moment—having heeded the appeal made to me by the Government of the Republic—to address the Integralists throughout the country with a message of peace, of calm

, order and abstention from unrest – I also wish to offer further proof of the great respect and absolute trust that I and a million Brazilians who follow me place in the armed forces. This proof consists of placing, in my absence, the great civilian mass – nationalist, spiritualist, anti-communist, and swept up in an incomparable mystique of the homeland – under the aegis of the Army.

I shall not depart with peace of mind if I leave them defenceless at the mercy of intrigues, bad advice, and the incitements of agents provocateurs, because Your Excellency You know that any and every collective is prone to errors and mistakes if it is persistently worked against, maliciously provoked, unjustly persecuted, deliberately slandered or oppressed by the tricks and chicanery of secret agents or Comintern operatives.

General: I now entrust to the vigilant guard, the intelligence and the defence of the army, the work that took me six years to build. Neither I nor my comrades want anything in return for the services we have rendered to the nation, save the right to love Brazil and to remain vigilant to heed the nation's calls in its tragic hours.

I know that I am writing a letter which posterity will read and which history will judge. I hope for a word from you that expresses the very sentiments of justice, patriotism and nobility of spirit of the Brazilian military.

There are two sacred moments in a man's life: death and exile. No one fails to respond to the call of these moments, for in them it is not the man who speaks from the heart, but rather the heart of a Brazilian that addresses you, with a sense of responsibility for the position I hold in the life of my country, expressing all the doubts and fears that assail the spirit of a man of good will.

I bear great responsibilities. Hundreds of thousands of families—men, women, the elderly, young people, children—believe in the great Brazil that is honest, virtuous, independent, strong, dignified, just, proud and respected; the Brazil that, from city to city, extolling the heroic deeds of our people with a pilgrim's devotion to patriotism, I have promised them for six years. How can I abandon them, without comfort, without encouragement, without hope, without protection, without justice, and without faith, in the hands of a sinister secret organisation, which seeks

set you against the authorities, make you incompatible with the army, brand you as extremists, whilst, on the other hand, attempting to insult the most impulsive among you, in order to lure you into political adventures or bloody incidents?
General: This national force, which I have created, cannot, to Brazil's good fortune, ever be destroyed; I myself cannot do so, for it is the soul of the fatherland that I have set upon its feet
, singing the old and glorious anthem, already forgotten by the masses, evoking from the mists of scepticism and the shadows of crude materialism the futures of Osório, Caxias and Tamandaré, and highlighting them in luminous civic apotheoses. This force exists, and it is essential that this force be harnessed and utilised for good and useful ends, and never abandoned
, for in that case we would face the tragic proliferation of the Northeastern peasant, transformed, through the negligence of statesmen, into a threat to order.
I hope that my contemporaries will understand me as well as the history of Brazil will understand me. It is in this sense that I appeal, in a particular way, to the national army. I shall thus depart in peace, for the Integralists are not merely my brothers in faith, but I regard them as my own children.
Before God and man, before the fatherland and our descendants, I shall have fulfilled my duty by addressing this anguished appeal to Your Excellency.
This is what I wished to say to you. As Minister of War, you logically represent the national army. I am encouraged by the most sincere hope that I will be understood, a hope as great as the sincerity with which, at a most grave moment for Brazil, on the international stage and in the national underworld, I appear
before history, with this letter in hand.
With the highest regard and respect, I have the honour to sign. Plínio
Salgado

São Paulo, 27 May 1939(*)

PASSPORT

Issued on 16 June 1939 and extended by the Brazilian authorities in Portugal for the periods 1941–1943 and 1943–1945, and the Consulate General of Brazil in Lisbon, at the request of the holder, included (following consultation with the Brazilian Government and a favourable response from the latter) several other countries for which the holder had not yet requested validity of the passport. The passport holder, however, never left Portugal.

(See the appendix: this document photographed page by page).

DIRECTIVE FROM THE NATIONAL LEADER OF INTEGRALISM, PLÍNIO SALGADO, TO THE INTEGRALISTS ON 5 SEPTEMBER 1939

" 5 September – In reference to the letter of 19 August. Now, more than ever, given the current global situation, I reaffirm the previous directive.
Any revolutionary upsurge of an integralist nature will be exploited by the communists through their slander. The only course of action will be for integralists to abstain from revolutionary initiatives in the face of the international difficulties Brazil is currently facing. It is important to make our stance clear regarding the global conflict: we stand with Brazil, whatever its fate may be. The totalitarian regimes' absolute hostility towards Integralism and the partisan conduct of their governments—which have so often shown favour towards President Vargas against us, and even now—are sufficient grounds for our complete neutrality. This neutrality must not be passive but active in our service to the Fatherland, ready to answer the call of our country in any emergency, whilst remaining within discreet limits, mindful of the uncertainty regarding the Brazilian government's stance in the global conflict. I received a kind telegram from Flores and Mangabeira, who wrote to me from Paris. I repeat, I am unaware of the liberals' thinking. Nor do I consider it impossible, given the current global situation, that a reconciliation might be promoted amongst all Brazilian political factions, leading to certain changes in government under the pretext of pacifying the country. It is advisable to consult the liberals regarding this possibility, so that we do not make peace with Getúlio separately but jointly, should the national interest so require. For our part, we shall listen sympathetically to any government and must take note of the liberals' views should they be acting loyally towards us. The situation is extremely delicate. Advise our comrades not to take any action or side with any belligerent party, for we do not know what our Government's future stance will be; moreover, the United States, with whom Brazil has commitments we must honour, remains neutral. (a)- P

(Note: sent by a passenger on the ship 'Siqueira Campos', which had left Lisbon around that time)

1940
(Document number 24)

LETTER FROM PLÍNIO SALGADO TO RAIMUNDO PADILHA ON 20 AUGUST 1940

My dear Raimundo Padilha

I am writing to you today to share the most interesting news of the last few days, going into more detail about what I previously sent you in summary form.
General Francisco José Pinto finally met with me, as he had wished to do from the very first day of his arrival in Lisbon. As it was not appropriate for us to meet either at the hotel where he was staying or at my home, we agreed that the meeting should take place at Gustavo Barroso's residence, at 6 Rua Brancamp, 2nd floor, left-hand side. The general arrived first and Gustavo came to fetch me at half past six on 11 August.
Upon arriving there, the general enquired after my health and my impressions of Portugal, and expressed his determination that we should reach an agreement to put an end to all the dissensions that were dividing the Brazilian people. He told me that the government could not carry out the task of national reconstruction without the support and cooperation of those Brazilians most enthusiastic about the greatness of our homeland. He asked me whether, should I be invited to take part in the government, I would accept or decline.
Now, you and all the Integralists know that our disagreement with President Vargas is one that involves no personal animosity, for I have never placed personal passions above the sacred interests of Brazil. What separated us during the so-called 'New State' was the totalitarian character that it, in practice, assumed. We had no direct involvement (as can be seen from the letter I addressed to President Vargas at the time) in the coup d'état of 10 November 1937. I confined myself to staying out of it, provided that the President guaranteed us that we would not have a Nazi-style dictatorship, but an organic democracy, founded on Christian principles, albeit with a strengthened Executive due to the extremely grave circumstances we were facing. Among other freedoms, we asked that we be assured the right—at least until the democratic reforms to which we aspire through our doctrine, so misrepresented by our adversaries but so clear to our fellow believers, were consolidated—to continue our work of civic preaching, of shaping the national conscience, of fostering social and political culture, and of promoting legitimate and healthy patriotism.
That right was denied to us. At the same time, we witnessed the complete suppression of all freedoms in the country, and we could not resign ourselves to this. Nevertheless, President Vargas invited me and strongly urged me to accept the post of Minister of Education in his government.

That invitation and that insistence, at the very least, demonstrated—and will forever demonstrate—that President Vargas never regarded us as harmful elements, nor as men guided by foreign ideology, nor as a party linked to or even associated with foreign parties. It is the greatest testament in our favour. But the fact is that I could not accept the invitation, as I did not agree with the system of the New State, even though many themes of its propaganda were drawn from our own doctrine and some ideas were very much our own, albeit implemented in a manner different from the democratic character of our doctrinal conception.

Then came the events we all know.

Then came the revolution in which they took part alongside the Integralists – the most unexpected figures in liberal democracy – including the likeable figures of Euclides Figueiredo, Flores da Cunha, Otávio Mangabeira, General Castro Junior and so many others. This movement was exclusively labelled as 'Integralist', and Integralism was thus smeared with slander.

However, President Vargas, despite all this, did not fail to show me the utmost consideration, as well as to my supporters, so much so that, last year, he invited me to take up a post in the diplomatic service, sending me a list of legations from which to choose, as attested by Messrs Ademar de Barros, Carneiro da Fonte and Alfredo Egidio de Souza Aranha. I did not accept this diplomatic post because the situation under the Estado Novo remained unchanged, with no freedom of opinion or speech. But the very fact of the invitation that President Vargas demonstrated he did not regard me as a suspicious element or one connected, either by myself or my supporters, with foreign parties or nations, as our enemies claim; for if that were the case, he would not have offered me a post in the diplomatic service, where I would have enjoyed immunities to do harm if I were a villain, or to make contact with foreign elements in support of my party, if I were a bad Brazilian.

Having exhausted all other options, the government resorted to violence. I was arrested and accused of conspiracy and – an unprecedented event! – whilst proceedings were being brought against me, I was exiled.

The trial proved my innocence. It was a disgrace – though not for me. Yet I remained in exile.

Consider now the difficulty and, at the same time, the ease of answering General Pinto's question. I replied that I was willing to take part in the government of Brazil, in accordance with the views I had already expressed in 1937, 1938 and 1939.

He asked me if I wished to send a message to the President, and I replied that I offered him my best wishes for his personal happiness and for a government such as we Integralists had dreamed of for Brazil.

In the course of the conversation, the General asked me who had exiled me. I replied that I did not know either, and that I would be grateful if he could unravel that mystery for me. The reply provoked laughter from all of us, including the General.

After further cordial conversation, the general asked me if Gustavo Barroso would be the right person to receive any proposals from the President regarding Integralism, to which I agreed, as I believe that whilst these matters remain in the realm of proposals, you should not intervene. Furthermore, I did not wish to press the issue further but rather let it run its natural course. Gustavo Barroso is an excellent colleague, disciplined and dedicated, and at the appropriate time he will send me any communications there may be, through you.

That is the news for today. Gustavo will be leaving in January and I shall give him a letter of credence for the purposes I mentioned above. He will liaise with you there.
With my best regards to you and to us, I send you my warmest regards,

(a)Plínio
1941
(Documents numbers 25, 26, 27 and 28)

LETTER OF CREDENCE

To Gustavo Barroso, issued by Chief Plínio Salgado on 25 January 1941, in Lisbon

My dear Gustavo Barroso,

In accordance with our most recent conversation, I hereby convey to you the authorisation and instructions regarding any discussions you may have in Brazil with President Getúlio Vargas, concerning matters of interest to Integralism in general or to myself in particular.
Before doing so, however, I consider it essential to record in this letter—which is also a historical document—the respective positions held by President Vargas, yourself and myself on this matter. Let us therefore consider the following:

1°) – As you informed me, President Getúlio Vargas tasked you with ascertaining my views and state of mind here, telling you that General Francisco José Pinto would take it upon himself to speak to me as soon as he received from you the outcome of the sounding-out carried out with me. Upon arriving in Lisbon, you sought me out, repeating the words of President Getúlio Vargas. After a lengthy discussion, in which you and I examined all aspects of the Brazilian situation and, in particular, the possibility of cooperation between the Integralists and the government, it was agreed that you would convey to General Francisco José Pinto the information that I was willing to meet with him, General, in order to exchange ideas.

2) – Around the same time, in Brazil, during a meeting and lengthy discussion with my son-in-law Dr Loureiro Junior, Colonel Benjamim Vargas, brother of President Getúlio Vargas, expressed the government's desire to reach an understanding with us, asking Loureiro himself to seek to foster a favourable opinion within the Integralist movement, and telling him that the matter should be dealt with in Lisbon, as General Francisco José Pinto had been given powers for that purpose.

3) – At the same time, whether through D. Rosalina Coelho Lisboa or via a contact of our ambassador in Buenos Aires, our colleague Dr.

Raymundo Barbosa Lima received, in Montevideo, identical news of the promising progress of the Lisbon talks, and was even questioned on the matter by liberal politicians, including General Flores da Cunha.

4) – Throughout Brazil, from the early months of 1940, news of the 'Pinto mission' and the progress we were making in our cooperation with the Government began to circulate, particularly in integralist circles.

5) Meanwhile, here, things were unfolding differently.

6) My interview with General Francisco José Pinto, who was present as a witness, is fortunately reproduced in the document attached to this letter. The main question General Francisco José Pinto put to me was whether I would accept President Getúlio Vargas's invitation to collaborate with the current Brazilian government. On this subject I offered extensive comments, which are set out in the aforementioned text of the interview and which should be borne in mind in the course of any further discussions or agreements.

7) – General Francisco José Pinto, regarding the continuation of the talks we were initiating, informed me that President Getúlio Vargas was addressing me through him, General, or through Dr Darcy in Rio, and through you here in Portugal.
Having recalled these facts, and having read the essential clarifications in the text of my interview with General Francisco José Pinto, attached hereto, the positions on this matter held by President Getúlio Vargas, yourself and myself are clearly defined. It is evident that the floor now belongs to President Getúlio Vargas, since I have not yet received any response to what I said to General Francisco José Pinto. I cannot, therefore, without committing an indignity, take the lead in resuming talks; however, out of sincere patriotism, I must immediately respond to the government's expressed desire to continue the interrupted thread of the initial exchanges of ideas in Lisbon.
It is under these circumstances that I hereby grant you, should you be summoned or approached by President Getúlio Vargas with a view to resuming the talks that have been interrupted here, full powers to represent me in order to: firstly: reiterate the views that you have heard from me here and which, in their essential points, are set out in the text of my interview with General Francisco José Pinto; secondly: to express an opinion, in accordance with our doctrinal principles, patriotism and honour, on any new matters that may arise for discussion; thirdly: to hear any proposals, examine them in accordance with the guidelines I set out in my interview with General Francisco José Pinto, and put forward solutions favourable to our doctrinal and patriotic objectives; to receive the final and definitive form of the proposals and, in the strictest confidence, inform me of them without delay so that I may assume full and personal responsibility for the decision; fourth: to liaise with any other person, apart from President Getúlio Vargas, provided they are appointed by him, with a view to studying and proposing the best solution to the political situation regarding Integralism; fifth: to carry out any and all acts necessary for the full discharge of this mandate
Wishing you a safe journey,

(a) Plínio Salgado
Tivoli Hotel, Lisbon, 25 January 1941

LETTER FROM PLÍNIO SALGADO
to Gustavo Barroso, on 8 September 1941, one of the topics of which was referred to by President Vargas, with whom he agreed

Lisbon, 8 September 1941 My dear

Gustavo Barroso,

I am writing this letter to provide you with a copy of the manifesto that I had distributed among integralist circles throughout the country.
Since General Pinto's departure, I have heard nothing more of the matters discussed here. Yet I have not ceased to think constantly of the supposed interests of our Fatherland.

(Here follows an excerpt expressing the deepest love for Brazil, of which President Getúlio Vargas is aware; he commented on it with approval, as can be seen from Gustavo Barroso's reply. We reserve the right to publish this excerpt when the sad events foreseen therein come to pass in their entirety)

And in the face of this danger to our homeland, I have spontaneously resolved to take a course of action, the result of which is the attached manifesto.
We have reached a most critical juncture in history and, therefore, this is the moment when I must fulfil what I promised two years ago, in a letter sent by the then Chief of Police of São Paulo to Dr Ademar de Barros, who was in the company of the President of Caxambu(*). A copy of that letter is in the possession of Loureiro.(**)
I would like you to show this manifesto to Dr Getúlio Vargas so that he may familiarise himself with the text. It would also be a good idea for the Chief of Police to read it. It might be useful to publish it in the country's newspapers.
I look forward to hearing from you regarding all matters pertaining to this subject, and I send you my warmest and most cordial regards.

(a)Plínio

MANIFESTO OF SEPTEMBER 1941

Addressed by Chief Plínio Salgado to the Integralists and to which President Getúlio Vargas made laudatory references

'INTEGRALISTS!'

On 15 May 1939, in a manifesto published by the Brazilian press, I set out the course of action required of you at that time in the face of unfolding world events and in view of the demands of our patriotism.

The document began with a recapitulation of the doctrine I have always preached to you; it then recalled the services you had previously rendered to Brazil; it went on to assess the international situation, showing you that peoples who are united, cohesive and inspired by a common cause were inflicting successive defeats on those who had allowed themselves to be weakened by internal dissensions; it deduced, as a consequence, the need for Brazilians to unite; and, finally, it recommended that you refrain from any agitation that might disturb public order.

On various points I explained to you that the conduct I advocated did not imply mere compliance, nor the slightest compromise with the line of dignity we had set for ourselves, since no base interest tempted us; and, proclaiming that we would not adopt an attitude of weariness or defeat, I confirmed this assertion with these words: 'remain alive and active, peaceful and hard-working, orderly and vigilant, calm and alert, so that you may give everything to Brazil when it calls upon you'

Two years and three months have passed since the manifesto of May 1939. Away from the country for reasons of which you are aware, I have followed your conduct day by day. I have seen that you have not only complied with what I asked of you and entrusted to you, but have also lived up to the standard I set for myself throughout that time as the best way to serve our Fatherland well.

Now the time has come when I feel it is imperative to speak to you once more. I begin by congratulating you on the patriotism you have shown in my absence, strictly adhering to the guidelines I left you.

You have not succumbed to the indifference of the sceptics and the apathetic; you have not allowed yourselves to be corrupted by the base materialism of the complacent; you have not strayed along the tortuous paths of the restless. The sacred fire of love for the Fatherland has not been extinguished in your spirits, and the cultivation of virtue has been, for you, a solace in your longing and a source of hope. It is with justifiable pride that I return to your homes, making myself present there through my words just as I am present in my heart.

I convey to you a new directive. Among the reasons that justified the one I gave you in May 1939, the manifesto insisted, at every turn, on the evocation of a near future, saying: 'The international situation is of a gravity unprecedented in the last hundred years of world history.'

The days foretold arrived swiftly. In September of that year, war broke out in Europe. The months of 1940 unfolded new and escalating events whose sphere of interest crossed successive borders, reverberating across every region of the earth.

As events unfolded in this way, my entire attention was focused on our homeland; I did not miss your slightest gestures of love for Brazil, nor the

words, so significant, of the men of responsibility in the government, and, above all, those of the President of the Republic.

I saw and felt the country's anxieties, the demands of its honour, the strength of its noble sentiments in the face of the dangers that world circumstances had created for the freedom of peoples

The year 1941 introduced new dimensions to the complex problem afflicting humanity, creating a chaotic confusion in minds unaccustomed to the cruel realism of facts, whose logic does not always align with the contours of transcendent theories and noble abstractions(**). The threats have now become more severe, the dangers more imminent, the enemies closer at hand, the stratagems more covert, and the catastrophes in which political sovereignties and the right of self-determination of nations have been left to face, more unpredictable(***). And, as if the precariousness of formulas rooted in the romanticism of a legal illusion based on naturalistic principles—which was the very dream of the nineteenth century—were not enough, we are still tormented by the spectre of Bolshevism.

Under the most diverse guises, this enemy, whose virulence we know all too well, has been uncovered within the very citadel of national defence of homelands that have been undermined and numbed by the disguised agents of its corruption(****)

It is in the face of this spectacle offered by today's world that I see the need for the unity of Brazilians, setting aside mutual grievances or differences and spurred on by the firm resolve to defend our homeland in any circumstance.

Once this preliminary step—which is an imperative of our patriotism—is accepted, it must be translated into its practical form of efficiency. This form consists of giving our full support to the current government of Brazil in all its endeavours to defend the inviolability of our sovereignty and independence; to safeguard the Brazilian family from all factors that undermine national unity; and to build and enhance the present and future of our homeland, thereby placing ourselves collectively at its disposal to render whatever services events may render necessary.

No doctrinal grounds prevent us from proceeding in this manner.

The ideological foundations of the integralist doctrine are, in part, the same as those that inspired the Constitution of 10 November 1937.(*)

This statement will only seem strange to those who have only a superficial knowledge of the history of relations between integralism and the current regime in our country.

However, all those who have followed our propaganda over the past ten years; those who have read the October manifesto and the programme manifesto of 10 November, know that there were no differences, as regards certain doctrinal foundations, between Integralism and the regime currently in power in Brazil. What we sought to resolve in late 1937 and early 1938 through successive 'demarches' with the government was the 'form of integralist implementation' of the new order. And it was whilst this form of implementation and collaboration was being discussed that events occurred which rendered the efforts towards a satisfactory agreement fruitless.

So true is it that there is no difference between our political doctrine and that which partly inspires the current Brazilian regime, that one by one the integralist political aspirations are being realised by the Estado Novo.

The abolition of state flags, the extinction of regional parties, the suppression of universal suffrage, the restriction of state autonomy, the federalisation of state militias, the laws providing assistance and protection for workers, the strengthening of the Central Government – all these were points in our programme, for which we had been fighting for many years, through the press, in books and from the podium.

If, therefore, ideologically, nothing prevents us from supporting the current government of Brazil, morally we feel compelled in the present circumstances to adopt this stance, which constitutes a duty.

This duty is imperative at a time when Brazil needs to have at its helm a government strengthened by the unanimity of national opinion. Abroad, it is a matter of presenting ourselves as a united and indivisible front, with the firm resolve to wage a life-and-death struggle in defence of our sovereignty, the concept of which cannot be altered or undermined; and, at home, it is a matter of safeguarding the Brazilian family, our traditions, and the spiritual foundations of the nation against the sinister machinations being prepared—sooner than the distracted or forgetful might suppose—for a world revolution as the epilogue to the first conflagration that occurred after 1914–1918.

Our concept of the Fatherland is a concept of the highest order; we cannot, therefore, sacrifice the supreme interests of Brazil for any personal reason. It is essential that the current government does not allow itself to be distracted in the slightest by the possibility that there might be a single Brazilian capable of causing it difficulties, for only thus, with its full attention focused on the problems presented by the current global crisis, will it have the freedom of action to fulfil the arduous mission that falls to it and that our patriotism demands.

Having made this statement, what political actions should the Integralists undertake? I reply that none, on their own initiative, for since the ideas that inspire the government are the same as those that inspired us, and its objectives are the same as those to which we aspire, any isolated political action on our part would be superfluous.

How, then, will the value of your support be demonstrated?

It will translate into the constant mobilisation of your feelings and intellect, your attention and care, so that you are ready, at any moment, to render to Brazil the services it asks of you. It will translate into the fulfilment of your duties as citizens who respect the law and the authorities; into the practice of civic and personal virtues, which demand of you—as you are their apostles—an unyielding willpower in the self-discipline of your spirits, for it is by subjecting yourselves to this rigour that you will forge, by example, the fine steel from which nations worthy of survival are forged; it will mean the implementation of the principles set out in the May 1939 Manifesto, so that you may be as perfect as possible as a nation, as spouses, as children, in accordance with the principles of Christian morality which form the foundation of national honour; it will translate into the veneration of history and the symbols of the fatherland, shaping within the bosom of homes the hearts of those who will succeed you, wielding and carrying into the future the crackling torch of Brazil's survival and perpetuity; it will translate into the courageous expression of love for the fatherland in all noble and

enthusiastic forms; and, finally, it will translate into absolute sincerity and the most luminous chivalry and realism with which you will conduct yourselves before the Brazilian government, to whom you give your support at this grave hour for the world, and before the homeland, to which you have long offered, with the resolve of champions, your love and your lives.
May the Brazilian people understand you. And may God ensure that your gesture serves the best interests of Brazil.

Lisbon, 7 September 1941
(a) Plínio Salgado
LETTER FROM GUSTAVO BARROSO

To Plínio Salgado, reporting on his mission

"Rio, 17 October 1941

My dear Chief,

The return to normality in my life – which had been put on hold here for some 11 months due to my absence – the work on my house, which was left in a state of disarray and is still not back on track, the many activities I was forced to undertake, and some health issues, have robbed me of the time and peace of mind to write. Besides, I had nothing concrete to tell you. I therefore limited myself to a few messages via Padilha and Loureiro.
I arrived on 21 February. Towards the end of March, the President summoned me to Petrópolis one afternoon. He asked for my impressions of my travels. He then spoke about the museum. I broached our subject. And he replied, verbatim:
'This is our first meeting. I am aware of what happened through the General. We need to talk at length, and today I have no time because I have many appointments scheduled. (In fact, the anteroom was full.) I shall send for you in due course.'
He steered the conversation towards the Contreras case, and I suggested he issue orders so that Contreras could remain in São Paulo without being disturbed, which was done.
From that date onwards, I thought it best, in accordance with the text of his credentials issued in Lisbon, to maintain a low profile, await the President's instructions and not raise the matter. I met him only once, when he summoned me to examine the historical objects in the Fonseca Hermes collection, which the government had acquired. As he made no mention of our case, I refrained from broaching the subject. And I waited in silence. I always advised, however, certain colleagues—impetuous or inclined towards attitudes differing from the leadership's thinking—to exercise calm, prudence, respect for authority, and order. My attitude was not always well understood, and whether through anonymous or signed letters, or through words spoken in person or behind my back, I suffered unjust criticism. I particularly regret the stance I took, which you are aware of at the academy, because it is not possible to treat with hostility someone who, being kind and courteous to me, and acting solicitously through the General to fulfil requests to reinstate him, alleviate another's situation, prevent the persecution of that person, and even prevent the removal of Padilha, deserved, from the person in charge of a delicate negotiation, a

courteous and friendly approach. I believe that, having acted in this way, I did not deviate in the slightest from what we discussed there and what was decided, nor from the instructions you gave me in writing.

I continued to keep a low profile, for, as you yourself wrote, it was not I but the President who held the reins. Since he was not giving the go-ahead, I understood that, unless a favourable opportunity arose, the talks would be put on hold, though not broken off. I waited vigilantly and patiently, keeping as quiet as possible.

I believe that, in all this, I did nothing more than carry out your orders and be guided by my awareness of the difficulties and responsibilities of the grave moment we were going through.

On Tuesday, 6 October, at nearly five o'clock in the afternoon, as I was finishing my shift at the Museum, Padilha appeared before me. He gave me his Manifesto to read, along with the explanatory memorandum that preceded it. He handed me his letter and the copy intended for the President. He stressed the urgency of bringing the President up to speed on the matter and told me he had already called a meeting of leaders at his home to brief them on everything. To that end, he even tried to contact Delamore via the telephone in my office.

Given the content of his letter and the convening of the meeting—though I privately thought it would have been better to sound out the situation before releasing the document—I said nothing and confined myself to strictly following V's orders. I left immediately and went to the palace, where, not finding the General, I left a written message requesting an urgent audience without stating the reason. On Wednesday, I sought out the General, who told me:

I have spoken to the President. The list of audiences is extremely full, but he has ordered that one be arranged for you as soon as possible.

On Thursday, the President visited the Academy. I did not broach the subject as the setting was inappropriate; however, as he was taking his leave, he said to me:

We'll speak next week, early on. I've already arranged an appointment for you

He received me on Tuesday, 14 October, at four o'clock in the afternoon. Very kind. He read the manifesto and, after a pause, said, word for word:

It is a lofty document. In fact, communism is not donning the guise of liberalism; it has already done so. The reorganisation of the old political cadres is envisaged as the first stage. Plínio is right and demonstrates great patriotism, all the more sincere for being spontaneous and asking for nothing. I receive it with pleasure and satisfaction, taking it duly into account. It is right that the government and your comrades should be made aware of it. That is enough. I thank you and I thank you for your efforts, Gustavo, for you have been a friend to Plínio, to his comrades and to me.

He added, after another pause: 'The collaboration we were striving for used to be from the outside in; now it must be from the inside out.'

And he went on to speak of Osvaldo Fajardo's reinstatement, which I had asked him for and he had already ordered, of a request I had also made on behalf of Guidice's widow, and of matters concerning the museum. That was all. I understood perfectly well that publication in the press was not advisable, that it would be indiscreet to insist and, certainly, counterproductive to express an opinion or make suggestions.

At ten o'clock that very evening, Brisola rang me, anxious for the outcome of the meeting. I told him, and as I hadn't been able to find the telephone directory in the chaos reigning here at home, I asked him to pass on the result to Padilha on my behalf. I learnt

later that Padilha had gathered the leaders to inform them of this, and that there had also been a meeting at Captain Albuquerque's house.

I believe that the president was already familiar with the manifesto when I handed him the copy intended for him, which he read in my presence. Firstly, because it had been mimeographed and distributed to numerous comrades. Secondly, because General Mariante had told friends of his, a few days earlier, that General Gois had already read it. Thirdly, because, at the end of the interview, I went to thank General Pinto for his intervention, and he told me he was already aware of the matter. My opinion was not sought, and I confined myself to carrying out your orders. If I may be so bold, I would say that I believe it is necessary to put this support into practice, both to strengthen your action in defence of Brazil and to show that the movement is alive and organised, not merely confined to a piece of paper. This could be done with a telegraphic show of support for the President, on a specific date, to demonstrate the vitality of a disciplined mass following the word of their leader. It is merely a suggestion and nothing more. Here are the facts, stated plainly, without digressions, comments or speculation. It now falls to me to remain silent once more, awaiting orders or whatever may come, always ready to serve the cause of our country with the utmost loyalty to my doctrinal commitments, my friendship for Your Excellency, and my integrity before the President, who has honoured me with his trust.

At the end of this brief report, I send you a warm embrace and another to your friends there. My wife, the children and I send our heartfelt regards to you and Mrs Carmela.

For the good of Brazil, your comrade-in-arms and faithful friend, (signed) Gustavo

1942
(Documents numbers 29, 30)

MESSAGE

Recorded on a phonograph record in Lisbon and sent to Rio de Janeiro, where it arrived in the first days of 1942

My friends

At the start of 1942, a time so dark and uncertain for all peoples, I send you, through my own voice recorded on this disc, my heartfelt greetings and Christian wishes for peace and happiness.
I wish to emphasise the noun with the necessary, indispensable, essential adjective: 'Christian wishes'. For Christian peace and happiness are not to be confused with the peace and happiness of the world; the latter are as precarious and subject to the cruellest vicissitudes as the former are invulnerable, being grounded in the reality of the spirit, which is immortal.
Peace of mind is a feeling of inner harmony, the awareness of having fulfilled one's duty; happiness of mind consists of the inner joy that arises (even under the weight of suffering and injustice) from the faithful execution, in outward acts, of the principles that illuminate inner life.
You know what is required of you as good Brazilians in the service of God and the Fatherland, for in September of last year I laid out for you the course of action that should guide you. It consists in the sacred devotion to love for Brazil, in the upholding of its sovereignty and independence, in vigilance against the forces of social disintegration, in cooperation with our country's government in all matters concerning the defence of the nation against all the terrible agents of internal corruption, and against any external threats, whenceever they may come
We do not wish for this cooperation to be isolated, confined to individuals, for it would be meaningless and ineffective; we desire it from the loyal and sincere whole of our great family, which cannot be diminished by the destinies of Brazil in the arduous task of the present day.

At this hour, above all, we must love Brazil, and love it ever more. Cultivate this love with enthusiasm. Be bastions of order and national unity, with dignity. Above all, be faithful to the principles of Christ, which are the light of our nationalism.
We have no other party, no other preference, no other interest, no other desire, no other dream, save those embodied in these three words: God, Country and Family. With them I send you my New Year's greetings. In them I place my heart, my thoughts, my spirit, for the good of Brazil.

IN BRAZIL'S DECLARATION OF WAR ON THE AXIS POWERS

Telegrams from leading Integralist figures to the President of the Republic and the Minister of War, in which they refer to the manifesto of September 1941, stating that the present stance is a logical consequence of that document

Telegram sent by His Excellency the Minister of War at 11.30 am on 22 August 1942;

The gravity of this national moment, so eloquently expressed in Your Excellency's manifesto to the army, has compelled us to adopt this stance of full solidarity with the armed forces of the nation, imploring them, through Your Excellency, not to deny us the right to be the first to sacrifice ourselves, without distinction of rank or age, for national sovereignty.
With respectful regards. (aa) Raimundo Delmeciano Padilha, Gustavo Barroso, Miguel Reale, Machado Florence, Marcos Souza Dantas, Marcel da Silva Teles, Maurício da Silva Teles, Milton Ferreira de Carvalho, Alcebíades Delamare, Amaro Lanari, Henrique Brito Pereira, Rodolfo Josetti, Silvio Rego, Jorge Brisola, Paulo Lomba Ferraz, Queiroz Ribeiro, Filemon Cordeiro, Severino Rezende, Aristobulo Soriano de Melo, Carlos de Freitas Henriques, Ordival Gomes, Custodio Viveiros, Nunes da Silva, Alfredo Luiz Greve, Henry Leonardos, Maurílio de Melo, Vicente Megguilaro.

Telegram addressed to His Excellency the President of the Republic on 23 August 1942:

In expressing, in a manifesto dated 7 September 1941, our full support for Your Excellency and the regime, we justified our stance by emphasising that 'the threats have now become more severe, the dangers more imminent, the enemies closer, the stratagems more cunning and more unpredictable the catastrophes in that have devastated the nations ' and,

Consequently, we stood by the government to assist it 'in all its endeavours to defend the inviolability of our sovereignty and independence and against all factors that undermine national unity. At a time when our homeland finds itself in the grave predicament of having to face fearlessly the struggle that has been imposed upon it, our position, Mr President, was therefore already irrevocably established for the good of Brazil.
With respectful regards.
(Signed by the same signatories as the previous telegram, plus: Lúcio dos Santos, Carlos Faria Albuquerque, Othon de Barros and João Carlos Fairbanks).

1943
(Document No. 31)

MANIFESTO OF 1943

(15 NOVEMBER)

Addressed by Plínio Salgado to the Brazilian people and sent at his request by the Brazilian chargé d'affaires in Lisbon, Dr João Neves da Fontoura, to President Getúlio and to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Osvaldo Aranha, with a view to its publication

Having come to my attention, through a reliable source, a certain slander being spread about me, which is merely a political exploitation of my name, I address my compatriots to say the following:

I. The doctrine I upheld, in founding and propagating the movement I called Integralism, is the same one that continues to guide my spirit, and whose principles are opposed to: 1) materialism, in all its forms;
2) any form of totalitarianism, be it Nazi, communist or any other; 3) the theory of the supremacy of one race or nation over others; 4) the prevalence of force over law, whether in relation to peoples or individuals; 5) the weakening of our Brazilian identity, our traditions and the security of the territory we inherited from our Portuguese ancestors; 6) any restriction on freedom of conscience and the dignity of the human person. Such ideals, inspired by the country's tradition and which I have absorbed from the cradle, demonstrate that my political philosophy has never depended on foreign ideologies nor been subordinate to any party in the world. If there is anything

universalist in this doctrine, it is that which derives from the teachings of the Church, transmitted from the Chair of St Peter; for it is as a man, not merely as a Brazilian, that I see the Saviour as the light, the way and the life. Those who have thought, spoken, written or acted at odds with these ideas have never been, or will cease to be, my brothers in ideals.
II – Exiled in June 1939, I came to Portugal, from where I have never left. When war broke out, I wrote to my friends (5 September 1939), telling them that the only course of action was to work towards the unity of all Brazilians around the President of the Republic, to whom, months later, through a high-ranking Army officer then in Lisbon, I expressed the same sentiments. In September 1941, in a written public statement, in which I did not fail to bear in mind Brazil's continental commitments and its unwavering Pan-American policy, I urged my friends to give their full support to our government, from whose position, in the face of the world conflict, at that moment or thereafter, no good Brazilian had the right to deviate. Later, when the barbaric attack on our ships in our territorial waters took place, thousands of my friends from all corners of the country, by telegram, by letter and in person, expressed their full solidarity to the head of the nation. (*)

III- Nevertheless, it seems there are already those who doubt my loyalty as a Brazilian. I wish, therefore, so that no shadow may be cast over my conduct in exile, to reaffirm that, in this war against the Axis powers, only traitors could fail to work for the victory of our homeland and its allied nations. The victory of our homeland and its allied nations. This victory will free Brazil from the most immediate of dangers, which is expansionist racism, and will give it the opportunity to replace, within the principle of the inviolability of nations.

IV- As for the suspicion, of which I have been the victim, that I sought Nazi understanding or collaboration for partisan ends in my country, I protest against such vile slander. I would never tarnish my honour by using foreigners (even foreigners not at war with Brazil) to secure government posts in my country. For Brazil belongs to Brazilians, and it is for Brazilians alone to choose their political destiny and their leaders.

V- To those who followed me during the days of promoting the ideas I have summarised above, I can only urge you once again to give your full support to the Brazilian government's work on internal and external security at this decisive hour. Having, personally, no other desire than to contribute by every means at my disposal to the defence of our sovereignty and the eternal spiritual values of Brazil, I trust that these simple and sincere words of mine will induce certain enemies to respect my dignity in the involuntary position (of exile) in which I find myself.

(To Plínio Salgado

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Lisbon, 15 November 1943.

1944
(Document No. 32)

BOOKS AND LECTURES BY PLÍNIO SALGADO IN EXILE

Excerpt from the Information Bulletin for supporters of Integralism (Rio de Janeiro, 29 April 1945)

In December 1943, Plínio Salgado's book *The Life of Jesus* was published in Portugal; the Brazilian edition had appeared in 1942 in São Paulo. Critics were unanimous in their praise of this work, noting that it represented a synthesis of the author's doctrinal thought. One of the critics (Pinheiro Torres, in *A Ordem*, Porto) refers to the books *The Fourth Humanity* and *Universal Suffering*, in which Plínio Salgado had already demonstrated his spirit in search of the divine master.

Another (Mendes de Matos, in *A Guarda*) said: 'The name of Plínio Salgado, as one of the most robust and astute thinkers of our race and a master of the richest and most exquisite expressions of our language, has long since long ago, the borders of his homeland to establish himself as a writer whose work, through the elevation of DEEP CHRISTIAN HUMANISM, belongs not to a single nation or race, but to all of humanity." Yet another (Castro de Abreu, 'A Voz', Lisbon) cited all of Plínio Salgado's writings since the founding of Integralism, highlighting the consistency of his ideas, which never changed.

"These ideas, dear comrade, are not the ones the leader always taught us. For our adversaries to know what these ideas are, there is no need to refer to what was said by the

major newspapers of Lisbon and the whole sister nation, nor even to see how the distinguished members of the Portuguese Episcopate have spoken about Plínio Salgado's book. This excerpt from the work 'The Church and Contemporary Thought' by His Eminence Cardinal Cerejeira, on page 285 of the 4th edition, suffices:

'His *Life of Jesus*, one of the finest books of recent times in the Portuguese language, is the radiant crown of a great and silent drama. His lecture at the National Theatre on *The Alliance of Yes and No*, besides being a remarkable testimony of a thinker, is a vibrant affirmation of faith and love for the Church.
Almost the same age as Tristão de Ataíde, following in the footsteps of Plínio Salgado along the paths of political action and anti-communist social construction, is a passionate and enthusiastic youth, which already counts martyrs among its ranks."

"In addition to the lecture mentioned by His Eminence, in which our unforgettable Master and guide reaffirmed the anti-racist and anti-totalitarian thesis he had expounded so often since 1932, Plínio Salgado delivered another lecture in Coimbra, at a major university session chaired by Bishop Conde and attended by the professors of the University, on" 'The Christian Concept of Democracy', and concluded by stating that he had expounded the doctrine he had always taught for many years, which he had never abandoned. This work was published a few days ago in book form with the 'imprimatur' of the prelate of Coimbra, according to the telegram we received from Lisbon.
'As can be seen, Plínio Salgado, whilst never speaking out on Brazilian politics in Portugal—an attitude he always adopted in that country, in tribute to Portuguese hospitality—never failed, as a thinker honouring our homeland, to impart teachings based on the most admirable fidelity to his principles, which are also the principles of integralism, inspired by the Gospels and the teachings of the Encyclicals."
To the above excerpt from the 'news bulletin', we might add that Christian ideas—which are entirely at odds with totalitarianism, as so often expounded in *The Life of Jesus*—were not improvised following the defeat of one form of totalitarianism (Nazi-Japanese-Fascism), nor even when Brazil entered the war. That book, a human document of the deepest sincerity, began to be written in the final days of 1938 and was completed in August 1940, with the preface being written at Easter 1942, when right-wing totalitarianism dominated Europe militarily and threatened the world. The very Brazilian police bear witness to the date on which the book was written; having seized all the author's papers when he was arrested in January 1939, they later returned the manuscript to him, duly initialled, page by page, and with a statement drawn up in the own hand of the São Paulo delegate for political and social order, as can be seen from the photographs we have reproduced here, one of which, by coincidence (as the last page mentioned in the police report was chosen), contains the basic doctrine of Christianity, which is that adopted by Integralism: the concept of the family as the foundation of all national order and social justice.

1945
(Documents Nos. 33, 34, 35 and 36)

INTERVIEW WITH 'UNITED PRESS' GIVEN BY PLÍNIO SALGADO, IN MARCH 1945

"My silence in the foreign press regarding Brazilian politicians, whether national or international, was a self-imposed one during my six years of exile, as a mark of respect for Portuguese hospitality, whilst strict censorship persisted in my country; a censorship which, whilst allowing the most violent and unjust attacks against me and my friends, never permitted a single word to be spoken in my defence. I understood that, since I could not speak freely in Brazil, it would also be inappropriate for me to take the discussion of matters concerning solely my homeland beyond its borders. I would refer to such matters abroad only on the day they were being freely debated by the Brazilian press; that is why I am now able to comply with United Press's request, explaining to you in this way the reason for my previous refusals. I begin, however, by saying that such prolonged silence—forced by censorship in the Brazilian press and determined by myself in the foreign press
, did not mean that I had remained silent before my fellow idealists, to whom I always addressed myself periodically in manifestos setting out my guidance. Thus, in September 1939, I set out the Integralist position in light of the international situation, a position that was distinctly Pan-American and with a strong Brazilian character; in September 1941, in a manifesto read and applauded by President Vargas, I instructed my supporters to back the government's foreign policy in whatever it might decide in defence of

honour and sovereignty of our homeland, and it was as a result of this manifesto—which preceded the Pan-American Conference's decision itself—that Integralist leaders from across Brazil, at the time of the declaration of war on the Axis powers, sent telegrams to President Vargas and the Minister of War, offering their full support to the Brazilian government and making explicit reference to the aforementioned manifesto. Later, as new slanders and intrigues circulated against Integralism and its leader, I sent, via Ambassador João Neves da Fontoura in a diplomatic bag, a new manifesto, this time addressed to the Brazilian people, with two copies of the document sent to President Vargas, three to Ambassador João Neves and two to myself. In this document I reaffirmed the anti-totalitarian doctrine of Integralism, recalling the Christian teachings I had always expounded since the party's foundation in 1932, and proclaimed our stance as good Brazilians standing in solidarity with our homeland in the war against the Axis. To my great astonishment, I have never seen this manifesto published, and it has now been a year and a half since Ambassador João Neves forwarded it.
As you can see, finding myself unable to speak through the press in my own country,
I preferred, out of Brazilian decorum and in homage to Portugal which has welcomed me, to remain silent until the day when the ban on censorship against parties and men who disagreed with the Government ceased in Brazil. Having given these explanations, I shall answer your questions.

Brazilian newspapers, aware of the great popular support that Integralism commands, are naturally speculating about the stance we might take regarding the presidential elections; however, I can assure you that, for the time being, I have not decided anything on the matter, not least because I do not have a complete report on what is happening, and only once I am aware of all the details will I be able to say anything. Any interference by the Integralists in these elections, should it occur, will be solely with the supreme interests of our beloved Fatherland in mind, and I wish to assure you from the outset that I do not regard any Brazilian as an enemy, neither President Vargas, nor the two distinguished candidates, General Eurico Gaspar Dutura and Brigadier Eduardo Gomes, nor those compatriots who are most prominent in their attacks on Integralism or on my person, for these attacks are generally nothing more than misunderstandings, erroneous assumptions, and my heart as a Brazilian absent from my troubled homeland harbours no personal resentment. Under these circumstances, when I possess all the necessary elements to assess the Brazilian situation, my word to my friends will be an unambitious one, containing no spiteful personal references against anyone. I am not a candidate; I want nothing for myself; the only thing I desire is to see a happy Brazil, grounded in its Christian values, with a government strong enough to guarantee just freedoms, respect for the human person, social justice, and the independence and honour of the Nation. This is my view; the Integralists are aware of this, and my representative—a man of great worth, surrounded by respectable figures—must already be doing everything he deems appropriate within the law and with due respect for the authorities, so that our great movement may, when the time comes, render the most sincere and noble service to our Fatherland. For the time being, this is all I can inform you of, whilst publicly expressing my hopes for the swift victory of

Brazil in this war in which we have staked our honour and our blood; at the same time, I summarise, this Easter, all the thoughts I believe capable of underpinning the happiness of Brazilians, which I encapsulate in two words: 'Christ and the Nation'

MANIFESTO-DIRECTIVE

Sent by Plínio Salgado to the Integralists in July 1945

Chapter I

The Doctrine of Integralism

Integralism, rather than being a political party or an association, is a political doctrine based on a clear conception of the Universe and of Man, from which precise concepts arise concerning:

1- the human personality
2- the family
3- the economy
4- the state

Proclaiming an unshakeable belief in God and in the existence and immortality of the human soul, integralism condemns all materialist ideologies, urging its followers to exercise vigilant defence of the religious foundations of the Fatherland.

When we say 'defence of the religious foundations', we do not refer to the exercise of religious teaching, which is not our responsibility as integralists, since for that purpose there exists the hierarchy of appropriate authorities; but what we intend to express is the duty incumbent upon us, through the action compelled by the electoral obligation and our own desires, to contribute politically to the safeguarding of spiritualist principles in the constitutional, legislative and governmental work of the country.
Thus, before defining the stance of Integralism in the current Brazilian context, I consider it of paramount importance to begin with a concise exposition of its doctrine, that is to say: a summary of all the official publications of Integralism itself, which bear either my signature or my approval, from 1932 to the present.

The basic tenets of our doctrine are as follows:

I- Integralism believes in God and in the supernatural destiny of man (manifesto of October 1932). Consequently, it adopts a spiritualist conception of history, the economy, society and the state.

II- Integralism believes in man's duties towards his Creator; and since the fulfilment of these duties necessarily implies the idea of freedom for those who must fulfil them—without which there would be no responsibility—Integralism upholds the principle of the inviolability of the human person in all matters concerning the means by which he or she may fulfil themselves in accordance with divine objectives. (Manifesto of October 1932; guidelines, 1933; statutes of Brazilian Integralist Action, 1934; preamble to the 1936 programme manifesto; manifesto, 1943).

III- Integralism, therefore, proclaiming respect for the human person, considers as its legitimate projections:

a) In time: the family;
b) in space: property;
c) in space-time (related to the two preceding terms): the profession; d) as an instrument of realisation in the State: the political attitude;
e) as a means of fulfilment in God: religion.

(Manifesto of October 1932; Integralist Guidelines, 1933; Statutes of the Brazilian Integralist Action, 1934; preamble to the manifesto-programme, 1936; manifesto of November 1943)

IV- Consequently, Integralism upholds:

1) The indestructibility of the family and its constitution along traditional lines, which for four decades has been the foundation of Brazilian national life; the authority of the head of the family and his right to prevent the state from usurping functions inherent to him; the cultivation of Christian virtues, safeguarding the family from all the deleterious influences of materialistic doctrines and customs, based on individualistic selfishness and aimed at destroying it through totalitarian collectivism.

2) – The preservation of the right to property within the limits imposed by the common good, regarded as a legitimate expression of the human person and a guarantee of their independence, as well as of the rights to private enterprise and human self-determination in the context of freedom, as well as the security of the head of the family in raising his own children, so that his authority is neither diminished nor abolished; all of which, taken together, imbues the right to possess, jus, dominion, transmission and inheritance with a true character of spiritualisation, given the higher ends which, in this case, property serves.

3) – Fair remuneration for human labour, so that it may never be subject to exploitation by the powerful or by the socialist state, whose totalitarian aim subordinates workers to the whims of plans that destroy human freedom and personality and the sacred rights of the family; Consequently, the indispensable raising of wages, with employees sharing in the profits, to fulfil their duties as husband, father, son and free man.

4) – The right to engage in political activity, since for a man to realise the fullness of his personality, he must be considered from the threefold perspective of spiritual aspiration (the religious man), material needs (the economic man) and the temporal conditions of culture and social relations (the political man). For political activity to be complete, it must be based on the guarantee of religious worship and economic capacity, the only means of preventing the electoral exploitation of the weak by the strong, of the gullible by the liars, of the honest by the dishonest, of the poor by the rich, and of the timid by the bold, for it was through a lack of moral foundation and spiritual enlightenment that, in many countries, the people became an amorphous mass, and this brought to power the founders of totalitarian states, both National-Socialist and International-Socialist.

5) Religious freedom; full expression of conscience; cooperation between the state and the church in the manner best suited to both parties; rejection of materialism or religious indifference in all matters concerning the country's legislation, especially in matters relating to the family and education, for integralism does not regard the religious phenomenon merely as a social fact that agnosticism tolerates or that political expediency permits when it suits the interests of the moment, but boldly proclaims that a society without God ceases to be a society of men, becoming instead a herd of animals easily led by tyrants.

V- As a consequence of what has been set out in the preceding points, integralism deduces:]

1. Equality of rights and duties for all human beings, which only has meaning and coherence when it stems from respect for God.

2. Equal rights and duties for all races.

3rd – The division of humanity into national groups, forming independent homelands, each enjoying legitimate sovereignty, exercising equal rights in the international community and accepting reciprocal duties.

4. Harmonisation of the principles of authority and freedom, so that freedom creates authority and authority guarantees freedom.

5. Rejection of the totalitarian state, whether Nazi or Communist, both based on what they themselves call 'historical materialism', that is, Darwin's theory of evolution (struggle for life and natural selection), which replaced the reprehensible 'utilitarian morality' with the equally reprehensible 'scientific-experimental morality', giving rise to racism(struggle of races) and the dialectical-Marxist revolution (class struggle), both constituting the right and left faces of a single anti-Christian reality aimed at the destruction of the individual for the benefit of National Socialism or International Socialism.

CHAPTER II

The three manifestations of integralism

Integralism has manifested itself in Brazilian life in three aspects: 1st –

Political-Social
2nd – Socio-cultural
3rd – Moral-
spiritual

Let us examine each one separately.

1. The 'political-social' arm of integralism was the 'Brazilian Integralist Action', a civil society organisation with legal personality and a legally registered political party. As a party, the Brazilian Integralist Action had a government programme and used it in election rallies, acting in the same way as other parties in Brazil.

2nd – The same Ação Integralista Brasileira carried out, in parallel with its political activity, a social and cultural programme through specialised departments in the following sectors:

a) Doctrine and studies;
b) Welfare;
c) Artistic culture;
d) Civic and physical culture;

a) In the doctrine and studies sector, intellectuals, including university lecturers and students, worked not only on the development of Integralist doctrine, but also on sociological research and everything relating to Brazilian issues.

b) In the area of healthcare, in collaboration with the tuition fee collection services – to which nearly a million Brazilians contributed – and through the joint efforts of the women's section and the financial proceeds from

in the arts, our doctors, pharmacists, dentists and nurses worked, maintaining clinical-surgical and dental clinics, pharmacies, milk bars and popular restaurants, as well as a placement service and assistance for the unemployed, disabled or sick.

c) The artistic culture section organised concerts, exhibitions and lectures on music, painting, sculpture, architecture and other arts, performing the dual role of cultural dissemination and research into national artistic elements.
d) Finally, the Secretariat of Civic Culture, whilst organising competitions and conferences on the history of Brazil and on moral and civic education, encouraged all sports and physical exercise.
It was this sector of the Brazilian Integralist Movement that gave rise to the unfounded and ill-considered attacks directed against Integralism, which sought to equate an anti-totalitarian movement precisely with those whom the Integralist doctrine repudiated and fought against, as it continues to do. These attacks, from which the greatest distortions of the Integralist reality stemmed, were based on the fact that the young people enrolled in the Department of Civic and Physical Culture wore a uniform, which the other Integralists also wore symbolically on festive days.
It must be remembered that, when integralism emerged in Brazil, our country was threatened by the infiltration of foreign doctrines, to such an extent that the Nazis wore their insignia, waved their flags and donned their khaki shirts with impunity, even going so far as to hold parades in certain parts of the country, under the complacent gaze of the authorities, which made it easier for them to win converts amongst those of German descent, prompting anti-totalitarian nationalists to adopt similar outward appearances to attract and assimilate such individuals into Brazilian society, thereby preventing them from forming racial enclaves that could be exploited by Nazi imperialism. When I launched a strong Brazilian movement in Santa Catarina, my persecutors were the Nazis allied with the dominant politicians, politicians who maintained, throughout the state at the expense of municipal coffers, schools where lessons were taught exclusively in German. Thus, we were often forbidden there from parading in the green Brazilian shirt, but we watched with outrage as the Nazis promoted their festivities ostentatiously wearing their brown shirts. In that state, I founded countless schools to teach the Portuguese language, and when we managed to elect several municipal councils, I replaced the German schools maintained by the funds of the previous councils with Brazilian schools, which teach Portuguese, the national anthem and the history of Brazil.
The German newspapers attacked me, claiming I intended to 'mongrelise' the Aryans, and one day I went
I was visited in my office on Rua da Quintada by a distinguished Brazilian diplomat, who came to inform me of the resentful remarks made by the German minister in Rio during a party at Itamaraty, directed against what he, the minister, termed my 'anti-German policy'. This fact was confirmed by the distinguished diplomat—who, incidentally, is not one of those currently serving in neutral countries—in the presence of a most gracious American diplomat who was then paying a cordial visit. Moreover, through a close associate of Foreign Minister Oswaldo Aranha, I also learnt that, on the occasion of an ' ' incident which led to the withdrawal of an 'agrément' by the German government, the latter

attributed the incident to the influence of what he called 'integralist nativism'. All these facts are acknowledged by many men of good standing.

My argument to those who raised questions about the green shirt—integralist and anti-totalitarian—was that the fact that someone lawfully uses, in their defence, the same weapon that their adversary employs in attack, far from identifying that person with the adversary, rather distinguishes them from him; for what matters is not the clothing nor the instrument in use, but rather the attitude and doctrine of each individual.

So much so that, in Germany itself, the Communist Party wore a uniform and had a militia, in every respect identical to the Nazi ones; a uniform and militia that only ceased to exist when the German Communists (whilst we, the Integralists, upheld an anti-totalitarian doctrine in Brazil) fraternised with the Hitlerites, both in the Reichstag and later in the elections themselves, a fact well-documented in history. The Integralists, since they wore the green shirt, were in no way different, for example, from the Metropolitan Police in England, who stood guard whilst that country was under threat of German invasion. Now, just as England was threatened by foreign enemies, so too was Brazil from 1932 to 1937, both by the racist plans of Nazism and by the deliberate designs of totalitarian communism, and this situation justified the stance, which was further justified when, in September 1939, Nazis and communists joined forces in the same pact.

The clearest evidence that the green shirt—which no longer exists—was not a symbol of totalitarianism lies in the fact that the two largest Integralist celebrations of 1937 were honoured by the presence of the President of the Republic, as evidenced by photographs from the period; particularly memorable was the civic ceremony organised jointly by the Naval League and the Brazilian Integralist Action to celebrate National Day at the Municipal Theatre, presided over by the President of the Republic, with speeches delivered by various speakers not suspected of totalitarianism, after which, before that assembly dressed uniformly in green, the head of state brought the festivities to a close by addressing words of encouragement to the Integralists, which were published in the press. Indeed, I owe to His Excellency, President Vargas, the strongest proof that I was never regarded as the leader of a totalitarian party or inspired by foreign doctrines, whether when, in May 1939, he invited me through Dr Ademar de Barros, the intervenor of São Paulo, and Dr Carneiro da Fonte, the chief of police of that state, to take up to take up a diplomatic post, nor when his government provided me with a passport without restrictions for the countries I wished to visit, nor when the consular authorities in Portugal renewed that passport within the legal timeframes, namely 1941–43 and 1943–45, with the same privileges; nor indeed for other forms of personal consideration known to distinguished Brazilians. To characterise Integralism, therefore, as totalitarian or inspired by exotic ideologies would be an affront to President Vargas, as well as to the integrity of Brazil's public authorities.

POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF INTEGRALISM

As the country had held no elections other than municipal ones since the founding of Integralism, the party did not manage to elect any federal deputies, having only, in the State Chamber of

São Paulo, a deputy who, at the beginning of the Integralist movement, had secured the votes of the Catholic Electoral League, which in itself attests to the anti-totalitarian nature of our doctrine.
As for the stance of the Integralist movement during the coup d'état of November 1937, it remained, in the face of the new public authority that had been established, the same as the stance it had always taken towards the public authority established by the 1934 Constitution and its predecessors. Having no members in the Federal Chamber of Deputies – since the only one who proclaimed himself an Integralist there had been elected by the Ceará Labour Legion, which is why he never delivered a speech in favour of the party to which he belonged, nor did I ever demand that he do so – it is clear that Integralism was not complicit in the executive's actual coup d'état. I refer to the constitutional guarantees, which were not the work of President Vargas, but of the Chamber of Deputies, where few voices were raised to defend public freedoms.
Shortly before this action by the legislature, when Dr José Carlos de Macedo Soares had been invited to take up the post of Minister of Justice, His Excellency asked me for a meeting, stating that his intention was to release hundreds of communists then in prison, for which he sought my support before taking office. I considered it fair to release those Brazilians, whose ideology, being totalitarian, is opposed by integralism; however, I never agreed with violent methods of oppression. We agreed to exchange telegrams on the day of his inauguration
, which was done, with the newspapers publishing these documents. Mr Mario Antunes Maciel Ramos acted as intermediary and witness to everything, always keeping the respected Brazilian prelate informed of what was happening.
A party of a totalitarian nature would never act in this way. The coup d'état, therefore, by the executive in 1937, had been preceded by another by the legislature, under the guise of legality and constitutionality, and
in neither the first nor the second did Integralism play any role other than that of abstention, in the face of insurmountable forces and certain special circumstances which will one day come to light in their entirety if Integralism is forced to do so by new or repeated slanders and has the freedom to defend itself against them.
I was invited to become a minister in the New State, a post which I declined because I had been promised that the New State would evolve until it took the form of an organic democracy, based on the vote and representation and on the rotation and periodicity of those holding office (in accordance with the manifesto-programme of the Brazilian Integralist Action), and since this promise was to be guaranteed by the doctrinal freedom of Integralism—for which our existence had been authorised in the form of a cultural association—this latter measure was not implemented, having been thwarted by embargoes and subterfuges on the part of the Minister of Justice. Without this guarantee, we anti-totalitarian Integralists could not take part in a government which, although willing to promote measures in the interests of national unity and in favour of the working classes (as it is indeed fair to say it did, which identifies it, in this respect, with the Integralist programme) would nevertheless have to function (as indeed it did) without one of the elements indispensable to the configuration of democratic regimes: the legislative power. All this is explained in the letter I then addressed to the President of the Republic, emphasising the statement I made to Minister Francisco Campos that Integralism had never been a supporter of Nazism or Fascism, to which His Excellency replied that he considered me far too liberal.

In May 1938, the uprising took place which was labelled 'Integralist', a label that can no longer stand today, in light of the public statements by General Castro Junior, which constitute a testament to his integrity and will forever honour his noble military figure. The distinguished General spoke the truth when he stated that at that time, throughout Brazil, there existed a democratic movement, encompassing all parties, eager to restore the 1934 constitution.
This was a nationwide movement of public opinion, but in Rio it escalated and took on the character of a local uprising, joined by a few hundred Integralists, as recounted by that senior officer; I only became aware of the matter once it had already taken place. In this revolt, the Integralists (very few in number) who took part, feeling unjustly persecuted and cut off from their leader (who was then in São Paulo), were no more than mere followers of liberal democratic leaders, whose leadership belonged to General Castro Junior, as he himself declared to the press. That being said, I ask: where is the accusation levelled at Integralism that it instigated this revolt and received foreign money and weapons for that purpose? This accusation involves high-ranking officers of the army and navy worthy of the utmost respect, and honourable men from all other Brazilian parties who were on friendly terms with the Integralists, and who today, having suffered in exile, have returned to their homeland and are engaged in political activity.
Furthermore, the unassailable defence of Integralism lies in the very records of the numerous cases tried by the Security Court. The police authorities and the judges of the Security Court. The police authorities and the judges are also slandered, either as incompetent or as colluding, by the gratuitous and senseless accusations they attribute to the rebels of May 1938 (liberal-democrats-integralists) for the folly of having emblems engraved on the handles of daggers that would only serve to condemn them, and the even greater folly of attempting to launch a pocket-knife revolution against forces equipped with modern automatic weapons. Moreover, the accusers of integralism fail to see that the fact that the police authorities and judges turn a blind eye to such serious alleged crimes implicates the country's government itself as a defendant for negligence, omission or incompetence—which we are the first to contest?
In summary:

1) – There was no integralist uprising in May 1938, but rather an uprising involving various parties
, whose leadership was not integralist, as General Castro Junior honestly stated, assuming full responsibility as supreme coordinator;

2) – It was only a very small number of Integralists who took part in the rebellion, against the wishes of their party leader, but fully justified by the fact that they were in a state of despair under terrible persecution;

3) – These Integralists, all men of recognised patriotism, never used, nor would they have used, weapons supplied by foreigners, nor illicit funds; and given th e hypothesis, for argument's sake, that they had lost all moral and

patriotic sense (which we vehemently contest); their comrades from the other parties would not have consented to their membership; and had they consented, this disgraceful fact would have been recorded in the proceedings to which both Integralists and non-Integralists were subject, from which it follows that the slander levelled against the Integralists strikes a direct blow against the respectable judiciary that judged them.

A year later, showing that he attached no importance whatsoever to such slander, the President of the Republic asked me to draft a manifesto addressed to the Integralists, urging them not to create difficulties for the government and to remain peaceful and orderly so as not to disrupt national unity, at a time when Nazi aggression and communist unrest, allied with Nazism, were looming. I complied promptly, bearing in mind, above all, what Dr Ademar de Barros, the intervenor in São Paulo and intermediary for the President of the Republic, had told me, namely that we had a commitment to the United States and that we ought to be in a position, through a solid union of all Brazilians, to contribute with the utmost effort to the cause of democracy and the defence of the hemisphere. I drafted the manifesto. Alluding to certain nations which, having created a mystique, 'drew their borders with the tips of their bayonets', which required us to create our own mystique and adopt a policy of strengthening ourselves, so that such nations might not judge us as a people weakened by dissension, easy prey for the strong.

The manifesto was published in all newspapers by order of the government and addressed to 'Integralists!' Only a madman would fail to see in this document the clear allusion I make to the danger of totalitarianism; I am not permitted to state this explicitly, as that would be to pre-empt the stance of Brazil and of America itself, thereby alerting our adversaries. Consequently, a party leader of the confidant, who spoke on behalf of the supreme authority responsible for the defence of the Fatherland, is not a man against whom accusations of unpatriotism can be levelled; on the contrary, he is worthy of every respect, and only a complete obliteration of moral sense could raise against him and the party he leads such gross lies and such vile suspicions. What Integralism thinks of Pan-American solidarity and the defence of the sovereignty of the Brazilian homeland is implicitly set out in the May Manifesto, as was explicitly stated in the declarations I made in the presence of the distinguished Brazilian Dr Osvaldo Aranha, in 1937, to the New York Times journalist, Mr Catledge, statements which were confirmed by the honest word of the man who is now the foremost champion of the policy of bringing the American peoples closer together under the banner of true democracy

In September 1941, sensing that the day was approaching when our homeland would have to In order to take a stance on the world war, I sent a new manifesto to the Integralists, telling them that we should give 'our full support to the Brazilian government in whatever it may undertake to defend the inviolability of our sovereignty and independence'. This manifesto was confirmed by the telegrams sent by all the Integralist leaders to the President of the Republic and the Minister of War, at the very moment when the brutal aggression of the German submarines led us to enter the conflict. And when, in 1943, slander once again reared its head against Integralism, I sent a message—using the only means of communication available to a Brazilian with the President of the Republic, a means that could not be denied me—that is, the Brazilian Embassy, whilst Brazil was at war against the Axis powers. Copies of this manifesto were sent to the President of the

the Republic, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to the embassy in Lisbon, to the author and his representative in Rio de Janeiro. This was the last political act I undertook, involving the responsibility of all Integralists, which was followed, in this year of 1945, by a collective act of thousands of Integralist signatories, challenging their accusers to present evidence for the charges levelled against them, a challenge that went unanswered.

CHAPTER IV
Integralism as a Moral Attitude

Having set out the Integralist doctrine, its social, political and spiritual manifestations, and finally its party activities, let us now consider what Integralism was and continues to be as a state of mind and moral attitude.

In this regard, we have always referred to it as an 'inner revolution', that is, an effort to perfect our souls. The Integralist not only has a duty to be a good father, a good son, a good husband, a good brother, a good friend, a good professional and a good patriot, but must also seek to influence others to be the same, and the example he sets will be the best invitation of all. We are convinced that a nation is not saved by those things which the materialistic world calls 'happiness' and which often merge with slavery, even in the form of comfort and material pleasures. It is evident that the body has its rights and duties, its biological role, and is therefore subject to needs which must be satisfied within the bounds of what is just and moral. But we do not believe that there is happiness when the soul is sad, and so we understand that a man without virtue, even if he pretends to be happy, does not feel happy deep down, either because his ambition demands more, or because satisfied passions give rise to new passions and ever-increasing demands.

A nation made up of such men—restless in their desires and fearful of what they might lose, and always seeking the favour of the powerful of the moment rather than the favour of God—a nation made up of such men cannot be happy, nor will it have the strength to assert itself amongst the nations.

Hence we believe that, above all regimes, which promise everything, there exists man himself, whose personality must be preserved; and above man there exists his Creator, to whose bosom we must direct our earthly steps, through this brief passage through this world.

It is this thought that forms the foundation of the political doctrine we have taught and for which we have suffered, without the slightest resentment towards those who, by making themselves our enemies, do so because they are ignorant of what lies in our hearts. This thought, generating a common sentiment among all integralists, renders integralism indestructible as a doctrine and an attitude of conscience. Large populations in the Brazilian interior, having adopted that thought , live by this sentiment; and because they live and think in this way, the true Brazil also lives, thinks, grows, and multiplies through present and future generations.

Consequently, Integralism as an attitude towards life and a spiritual endeavour for the good of Brazil cannot be destroyed by any force; not even its own founder could extinguish it. Integralism will continue to exist as a system of political and social ideas inspired

by the teachings of Christ. It will continue to exist as a moral discipline and a foundation of philosophical principles.
Integralism has reached that height so ardently desired by its founders: that of a system of ideas vitalising a pure and strong sense of national consciousness.
After so many trials and tribulations, integralism has become the state of mind of a million souls; it has penetrated homes, reaching even the most remote hinterlands; it is passed down from parents to children, like an ever-burning flame of Brazilian spirit, illuminating and warming domestic life; it is passed on, from generation to generation, in schools, workshops and the fields: today it has attained perfect unity of thought and the strength of enduring sentiments. It lives and shall live, for as long as Brazil exists, so does integralism, which is a way of being, as intrinsically linked to the inner fabric of the nation as leaves, flowers and fruits are to the mother tree.
As long as there is a tree, there will be leaves, flowers and fruit; as long as there is Brazil, there will be integralism; and if it should ever cease to exist—which no true Brazilian could possibly believe.
As a doctrine, integralism charts a sure course for political aspiration; as a moral discipline, it educates and remains vigilant to serve the homeland in times of crisis.
Indifferent to all forms of persecution, it presses on. The more it is slandered, the more it will grow. Integralism has transcended party politics, the ever-fleeting existence of all parties in the history of all peoples. It is now a political inspiration, a generator of public opinion
. As such, I proclaim its powerful influence, an influence so great and so profound that no one of good faith can deny it.

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Such, integralists, are the directives I deem it appropriate to send you at this time, in response to your requests reaching me from all corners of our country. Absent from Brazil, which I love so dearly, (in this exile whose moral significance will one day be recognised by posterity, when the historian has the perspective to judge fairly all that is hidden by the passions unleashed by anti-nationalist and anti-Christian forces), I think of you fondly, whilst I await the redress that is due to us from those who, being the natural guardians of the home, religion and the fatherland, cannot remain silent indefinitely, for they know the full extent of the services we have rendered in the cause of those very ideals which they too defend.

With you in mind, I am sending you these guidelines. Consequently, I have resolved that integralism should not take the form of a political party, for that would diminish the greatness of what it represents today, rising above partisan struggles and serving as a precious element of unity for all Brazilians on the day when its anti-totalitarian, spiritualist and Christian doctrine can be studied by all our compatriots, who are currently prevented from doing so by the smokescreen of slander, misrepresentations and falsehoods of every kind, against which our poverty denies us the means to defend ourselves effectively.

For a complete clarification of our historical position, nothing better than time has always been on our side and will be even more so.

I see, therefore, no reason, nor advantage, nor convenience in having Integralism rise up with the responsibility of its name and doctrine against compatriots of other parties, who are today divided by matters of trust in individuals or hopes in certain groups, yet tomorrow all united in the defence of Brazil and in upholding these very same ideas that we uphold, which, at heart, constitute the foundation of the character and temperament of the Brazilian people.

Everything that is evident in our doctrine, I assure you, is also found in a latent state in the souls of all our compatriots, because Brazilians, like us, believe in God, practise religion, defend the Fatherland, regard the family as its foundation and, like us, see in Christ the key to all salvation.

That being the case, at this time of accidental divisions and incompatibilities, integralism must reserve itself for the more useful role of fostering essential harmonisation.

The 'Brazilian Integralist Action' was a party and was shut down; but integralism is a doctrine and no one can shut it down.

Let us not, therefore, subordinate the permanent to the transient, the immutable to the changeable. That is why I have indicated to you in this manifesto the means by which to exercise your compulsory vote, without entangling, in the transience of the passing hour, that which may tomorrow represent the most decisive defence of the Brazilian nation, just as today it represents and epitomises the permanence of a thought in whose essence lives the very soul of our Fatherland.

Exile, July 1945

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